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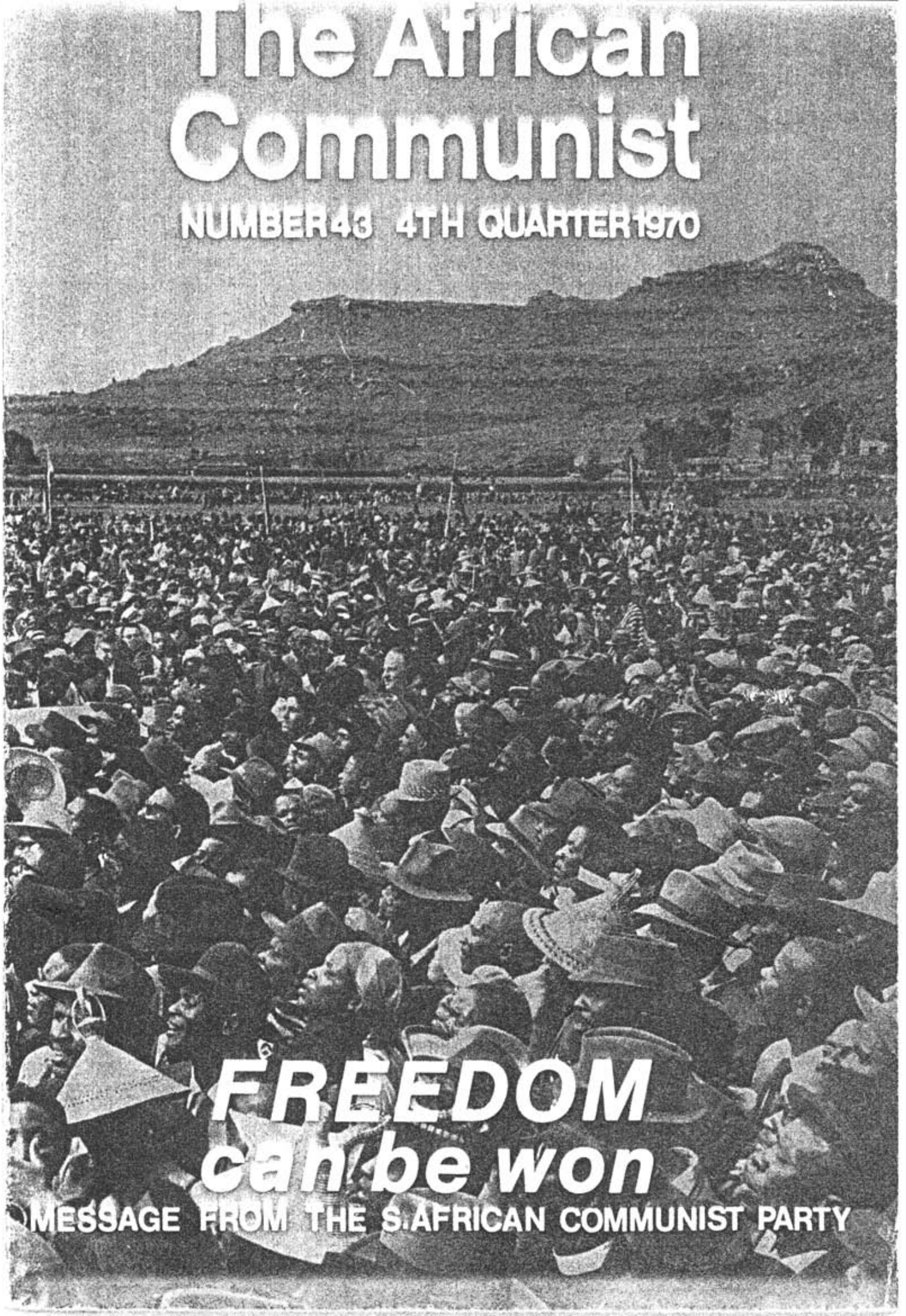

FREEDOM can be won

MESSAGE FROM THE S.AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

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No. 43 Fourth Quarter 1970

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Editorial Notes:

BRITAIN DECLARES WAR ON AFRICA

The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Alex Douglas-Home, told the House of Commons on July 20, shortly after the return of the Conservatives to power, that "it is our intention to give effect to the purposes of the Simonstown Agreement, and we believe that, as a consequence, we should be ready to consider, within that context, applications for the export to South Africa of certain limited categories of arms".

It has always been Tory policy that Britain should sell arms to South Africa. This has been justified on two grounds: 1. That, in the words of Mr. Anthony Barber after his visit to South Africa earlier this year, "South Africa is Britain's ally

and we shall treat her as such"; and 2. That in Britain's present economic predicament she cannot afford to neglect any opportunity of selling her goods abroad.

The Tory Government made many promises to the electorate during the pre-election campaign. It is highly significant that while most of these promises are as yet unfulfilled (and some, like lower taxes, indefinitely postponed because of the economic crisis), the Heath Administration has fallen over itself to abandon the partial boycott of South Africa imposed by the Labour Government and get the arms traffic going again.

In the situation which exists in Southern Africa, where the majority of the populations of the White dominated states of South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique are engaged in armed struggle against their oppressors, the decision of the Tory Government can only be regarded as a declaration of war against the African peoples as a whole. The Tories make hypocritical gestures about refusing to supply arms which can be used for the "implementation of apartheid", as though a warship is of less use than a pistol in killing people on land.

It is quite plain to everybody, including the Tories, that anything that strengthens the South African state at the same time strengthens the South African ruling class. The supply of warships, aircraft and missiles to Vorster can only strengthen the forces in South Africa which are responsible for the implementation of apartheid.

The Tories claim that "South Africa is Britain's ally". The men who run the South African Government were not Britain's allies during the last war, but her enemies, and it is well known that many of them were engaged in activities in support of the Nazis, including the present premier, Vorster, who was interned because he was regarded as a danger to the democractic cause for which the allied armies were fighting.

"Britain's ally"—against whom? There is much talk about the threat represented by the presence of a few Soviet ships in the Indian Ocean, and the Chinese presence and influence in some of the countries of East Africa, as though this were sufficient in itself to justify arming Vorster to the teeth. Do we really need to remind the world that it was this same Sir Alex Douglas-Home who was one of the key figures in the Munich sell-out and betrayal of Czechoslovakia, arguing that Hitler had to be strengthened as a bulwark against the manace of Soviet Communism? Thirty million people—20 million of them Soviet citizens—died in the war which resulted from the failure of the appeasement policy pursued by Chamberlain and Douglas-Home in the thirties. Now Douglas-Home is back at his old game of appeasing Vorster in the sacred cause of anti-communism.

In their desperation to rescue capitalism from the destruction which threatens it in all corners of the world, the Western powers are prepared to ally themselves with the vilest regimes in the world. The United States props up the wretched clique in power in South Vietnam and assists in the murder of millions rather than see them choose communism as their way of life. The United States likewise props up the despotic regimes of Central and South America to prevent them from following the inspiring example of Cuba. Britain and the United States co-operate in NATO with the tyrannies of Franco and Caetano to hold back the social revolution in Europe. Likewise SEATO is used as an instrument of imperialist policy against the peoples of the East.

It is in this context that Western support for South Africa must be seen. When it comes to military strategy, the plain fact is that South Africa would be of little use to the West if a war were to break out against the Soviet Union or People's China. South Africa's military establishment could be eliminated with a couple of intercontinental ballistic missiles. The Cape as a route for Western shipping—to the extent that it

could be used at all—could be defended by the Western navies and air forces without any contribution from South Africa at all.

No, it is not against the Soviet Union that South Africa is being built up by the West. It is to frustrate the aspirations of the oppressed majority of South Africa itself, of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique and Rhodesia, and indeed of all of free Africa, that Vorster is being equipped by the Western powers. The South African military might—useless in any war against the Soviet Union—is of the utmost importance in Africa itself. South Africa, spending over £200 million a year on its army and police force, can boast a military machine stronger and better equipped than the armies of the rest of Africa combined (leaving aside for the moment the special position of Egypt in the context of the Middle East conflict).

The South African army can be used not only against the Africans of South Africa, but against the Africans of other states fighting for their liberation, as well as the independent states themselves. South African men and materials are already being used to bolster the racist and colonialist regimes in Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique. South African aircraft overfly Zambia and Tanzania on spying missions while South African Cabinet Ministers utter threats against the governments of Presidents Kaunda and Nyerere. The economies of various African states are already being penetrated by ever-increasing South African investment running into hundreds of millions of pounds.

"South Africa is Britain's ally", say the Tories. Yes, against the people of Africa. Britain's stake in South Africa is greater than that in the whole of the rest of Africa. She is responsible for two-thirds of all foreign investment in South Africa, her own stake being approximately £1,500 million, from which she draws a higher rate of profit than she is able to achieve anywhere else in the world.

According to a written answer in the British Parliament

published during July 1970, Britain's investment stake in Southern Africa as a whole (South Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola) has more than doubled since 1960.

Trade figures alone show why Britain is prepared to risk the anger of independent Africa, and possibly even the destruction of the Commonwealth, by pursuing her "arms for South Africa" policy. According to an article in the London "Times" of August 13, 1970, "Britain imported £215 million worth of goods from African Commonwealth countries in 1969, against export figures of £127 million. The comparable figures with South Africa were £302 million in imports and £285 million in exports". The same article carried a table showing that in the years 1967 and 1968 Britain's trade with South Africa was approximately equal to that with the rest of Africa combined.

An appeal issued by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party in July, 1970, shortly after the advent of the Conservative Government to power, stated:

"South African fascist imperialism presents a major threat to the security of every independent African state, and to world peace.

"The South African Communist Party makes an urgent appeal to the working class and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world, and especially in Western Europe and Northern America.

"Our people are engaged in a desperate and crucial fight against racialism and colonialism, for national freedom and human dignity.

"Dear comrades, fellow workers and allies in the common struggle, mobilise your forces against those in your country who support, profit from and above all sell arms to the evil regime of apartheid.

"Expose them politically! Inform and arouse mass opinion! Lead the working class to demonstrate their solidarity by refusing to produce, transport or ship arms destined for

South Africa.

"DOWN WITH RACIALISM!

"NO ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA!"

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Uncle Sam is striking attitudes in Southern Africa.

Last May the United States Government announced:

1. That it will henceforth officially discourage investment by U.S. Nationals in Namibia.
2. That Export-Import Bank Credit guarantees will not be made available for trade with Namibia.
3. That US nationals who invest in Namibia will not receive the assistance of the U.S. Government in the protection of such investment against claims of "a future lawful government of Namibia".

Announcing these decisions at the United Nations, U.S. representative Charles W. Yost said he hoped these steps would "make clear to South Africa that its illegal occupation cannot be condoned".

This policy statement followed in the wake of another policy statement issued earlier in the year by U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers that: "We take our stand on the side of those fundamental human rights in Southern Africa, as we do at home and elsewhere".

Rogers went on: "We are maintaining our arms embargo; we oppose their continued administration of Namibia. We will continue to make clear that our limited governmental activities in South Africa do not represent any acceptance or condoning of its discriminatory system".

Those who have observed the way in which the United States has taken its stand "on the side of fundamental human rights" in Vietnam, Korea, Guatemala, Cuba and elsewhere have not been very much impressed. There was no noticeable reaction either from the South African Government or from U.S. interests in Southern Africa. The General

Manager of the vast U.S.-controlled Tsumeb Corporation, Namibia's largest base mineral mine and a major copper and lead producer, commented: "I do not think it will affect Tsumeb Corporation one bit".

Everybody knows that "Sticks and stones can break my bones but words can never hurt me".

Nevertheless, there are reasons for the difference between U.S. and British policy in relation to Southern Africa. One is that British investment in Southern Africa is far more important, both relatively and absolutely, than U.S. investment.

1. Britain's investment in Southern Africa is more than double that of the United States.
2. Whereas Britain has more money invested in Southern Africa than the rest of Africa combined, the United States on the other hand has nearly three times as much money invested in the rest of Africa as in South Africa.
3. Britain's investment in South Africa amounts to about 10 per cent of her total foreign investment. U.S. investment in South Africa, on the other hand, amounts to a little over one per cent of her total foreign investment.

So the United States can afford to strike attitudes. But there is more to the policy of the Nixon Government than that. U.S. capital is predatory, not only in relation to the oppressed peoples in Africa, but also in relation to its fellow neo-colonialist powers. In seeking to extend its domination in Africa, the United States regards both Britain and South Africa as rivals. In his statement Rogers spelt out three further U.S. "initiatives" in Southern Africa:

1. More American aid for the former British Protectorates to make them more viable "multi-racial" enclaves and less dependent on South Africa.
2. A distinction between the so-called "tolerant multi-racial" policy of the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique and the apartheid policy of the South African Government.
3. The total isolation of Rhodesia.

Every African knows that South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia have formed an unholy alliance to preserve and extend white domination in southern and central Africa. Every African also knows that this "unholy alliance" could not survive for one day without the support of the Western imperialist powers.

Nevertheless, one should not overlook the differences, actual and potential, in the ranks of the oppressors themselves. Increasing South African penetration of the economies of southern and central Africa can only bring Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique more strongly under her influence and domination. And the growth in size of the South African stake in Africa makes her a formidable rival to the traditional dominance of U.S., French and British capital in Africa, with West Germany and Japan now also strongly in the running.

On analysis, U.S. "philanthropy" in Southern Africa turns out to be only another form of self-interest. Anybody tempted to accept U.S. aid as a means of "lessening dependence" on South Africa is likely to find he has merely jumped from the frying pan into the fire.

Commenting on the U.S. policy statements, a recent issue of "Namibia News", organ of the South West Africa People's Organisation, said:

"Our country's resources are being exhausted in an intensive, short period, and the profits are taken as revenue by the South African Government, as well as transferred to foreign countries and South African companies, but nothing goes to the people. The reason why this is so easily done is two-fold: Firstly, the fact that South Africa illegally occupies our country, and secondly, that her vicious apartheid policy is the basis for her administration. In order to run mining and other industries at such vast profit there must be easy access to cheap labour; the South African social system secures this. The northern part of Namibia has over a long period been developed and maintained as a source of cheap labour with

an extensive system of 'contract labour', which has been characterised by the International Commission of Jurists as being 'unique in its organised and efficient application of conditions that are akin to slavery'. Moreover, generally low wages and harsh legislation contribute to maintain the inhuman conditions in Namibia whereby it is a matter of life and death for a family that the bread-winner has a job, however badly paid. By keeping the population down in this way the South African Government secures its foreign friends cheap and easy profit at the expense of the rightful owners of the country. We predict that increasing investments in Namibia will lead to even harsher life conditions for our people, as this in itself is one of the necessary preconditions for this pernicious industrial expansion".

Those who defend foreign investment in the Cabora Bassa project and elsewhere in Southern Africa, please note.

Particularly shameful has been the £40 million contract between the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority and a subsidiary of the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation for the supply of large quantities of uranium from South West Africa. This contract, entered into secretly by the Labour Government, and defended by the Tory Government, has been condemned by SWAPO as "an example of the hypocrisy which pervades Britain's attitude to Namibia".

LESOTHO

On April 30, 1970, the Labour Government said: "We have not been satisfied that the new regime in Lesotho meets our normal criteria for recognition". A few weeks later, while the election campaign was under way in Britain, the Labour Government resumed diplomatic relations with the regime of dictator Leabua Jonathan.

What had changed in the interim? Nothing. It will be remembered that Chief Leabua Jonathan, after losing the January general election in Lesotho, suspended the constitution, imprisoned his political opponents, and announced that he was taking power by force. The rightful head of state, King Moshoeshoe II, was sent away "on holiday" to Holland. When the Basotho people rose in revolt against this usurpation of power by Vorster's stooge, they were killed in their hundreds by the British-officered mobile police unit.

Jonathan's regime was hard hit by the suspension of British aid, and to rescue himself from disaster he entered into negotiations with the leaders of the three main opposition parties to form a national government and lay the basis for the adoption of a new constitution. This, he hoped, would qualify the regime for recognition and the resumption of British aid.

The British Government, however, no doubt pressured from South Africa which had no wish for a nation rent by civil war to be left on its hands, didn't wait for the talks to produce a result.

From Maseru's Central Prison, where he was still restricted, opposition leader Ntsu Mokhehle smuggled a statement last July condemning Britain's decision to resume relations with the Jonathan regime as "politically disastrous". Mr. Mokhehle said: "Now that relations are normalised and there is hope of aid, Chief Jonathan is taking no more pains to get a peaceful solution to the crisis. He has practically abandoned the leaders' talks, without telling them so, and his political activists are going all out to crush the other political parties".

He accused Jonathan of making political capital from the drought by using it to gain world sympathy and embarrassing Britain into giving aid. "I hope the British will realise what a disastrous act it would be to dish out aid to Leabua and I hope they will not make this mistake".

Perhaps Mr. Mokhehle puts too much store in the good faith of the British Government, which showed that it was ready to seize any excuse to resume relations with the Jonathan dictatorship. It was the pressure of world opinion, especially African opinion, which persuaded Britain to withhold recognition from Jonathan in the first place. Conversely, it was the slackening of world opinion, expecially that of independent Africa, which made it possible for Britain to overcome its embarrassment and resume relations.

A four-man Lesotho Government delegation which in July-August 1970 made a tour of 10 nations in Central, East and West Africa brought back reports of a glowing welcome in all centres. Jonathan commented: "I have now discovered that I have more friends than enemies on the African continent. Our problems are well understood. I have been invited to visit several African states. Some African states are keen to exchange diplomatic relations with my Government".

After a visit to Lesotho in August, the Zambian Minister of Local Government, Mr. J. P. A. Siyomunji, said in Maseru that the establishment of diplomatic relations between Zambia and Lesotho now depended only on formalities.

Yet all the while nothing had changed. There was still no constitution, the opposition leaders were still in jail, the King was still in exile, Jonathan still ruled by courtesy of the British-officered mobile police force. True, the people were hungrier because of the drought. But the Basotho people have had previous experience of the way Jonathan has used their hunger and their need to bolster himself in power. Shortly after he first came to power, it was Verwoerd who jumped to his aid with sacks of mealies. Now it is Britain and America.

British recognition of the Leabua Government opened the floodgates. In August the United States announced that it was to give Lesotho food valued at R1,344,785 and would pay the transport charges of R896,523 for its delivery. The

food is to be dispensed by the Catholic Relief Service—and it will be remembered that the Catholic Church is one of the main political props of the Leabua regime.

Later in the same month Lesotho was visited by Mr. W. Malan, of South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs; Mr. Edouard Hutte, France's non-resident Ambassador to Lesotho, who established the first diplomatic link between the two countries when he presented his credentials to the regent Queen Mamohoto; and Mr. W. M. Simonsz, First Secretary at the Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria.

Though rejected by his own people, as the January elections showed, Leabua is well on the way to international respectability, thanks to the aid of the British Government.

BOTSWANA

According to columnist Jan Verkyker in the South African magazine "Newscheck", there was anxiety in South Africa about two men in key positions in Botswana—Mr. J. R. Syson, a Briton who had been appointed personal secretary to the President, Sir Seretse Khama, and Mr. Joe Matthews, well known South African Communist and A.N.C. leader, who had been appointed assistant to the Permanent Secretary of the President's office. Newscheck said Syson had been a member of the British Communist Party. Anxiety in South Africa was because the two men stood so close to the President, and were in a position to influence him. Their advice could be detrimental to good relations between the Republic and Botswana.

One thing is sure. Sir Seretse Khama needs no prompting from Matthews or Syson to learn to dislike apartheid. He can never forget how he was exiled from his own country by the British as a result of South African displeasure at his marriage to a White woman. Now that he is master in his own

house, he is making sure that sort of thing will never happen again.

When verkrampte Nationalist (now H.N.P. leader) Ras Beyers, who was living in Botswana at the time, made a speech at a Nationalist meeting in the Transvaal in June 1969 attacking "Kaffirs, Jews and English", he was promptly deported by the Botswana Government.

In August 1970 the Botswana Government acted again. An M.P., Mr. G. G. Sebeso, had told the Botswana Parliament of slave farms in the Tuli Block where African labourers were treated worse than animals. Workers were shot at when they complained, fined for having visitors, and forced to buy from shops owned by Tuli Block farmers. Labourers had to get up at 5 a.m. and worked until 8 at night. On one farm there was a borehole—for use by the White farmer and his animals only; labourers had to go two miles to the Limpopo for water. Labourers got no paid leave. "Conditions of work are no better than colonial days", said Mr. Sebeso, calling for an inquiry.

The indignant White farmers protested against this "calumny" which, they said, had greatly devalued their land, and called for a meeting with the Botswana Minister of Labour, Mr. M. P. Nwako. They got their meeting—and more than they bargained for.

Mr. Nwako took the farmers by surprise by going on the offensive. Times had changed, he said, and farmers had to be taught to treat their workers like human beings.

"It is not always easy to get over past behaviour", he said.

"We are not trying to encourage laziness among your workers, but we are also not going to encourage exploitation".

He warned the astonished farmers that workers were entitled to form trade unions which would have the right to bargain collectively over pay and conditions, arbitrate on behalf of aggrieved workers and, if necessary, even go on strike.

Mr. Nwako said he was meeting the farmers because of a

parliamentary motion expressing dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the Tuli Block, the unhappy labour relations in the area, and the unhappy public relations with the African people in the adjoining tribal area.

The Botswana Government has also shown in other ways that it is reluctant to become another South African Bantustan. It has rejected South African protests over the proposed road link with Zambia, and has also rejected South African protests against the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

"The Government does not consider it necessary to comment on every petty statement about Botswana made by South African Ministers", said a Government spokesman in Gaborone, "but would remind South Africa that this is an independent country.

"In the past we have been linked too closely with South Africa and also with Britain. Now the Government feels it is time to lessen our dependence on both these countries and to start forging links—trade and diplomatic—with other countries. We want to establish friendly relations with as many countries as possible, to become less aligned. In fact, this was the immediate reason for agreeing to establish diplomatic relations with Russia, for example".

THE FIGHT GOES ON

Despite all the Government's ferocious repression, the spirit of resistance in South Africa is surging to new heights:

The accused in the Terrorism Act trial of Mrs. Winnie Mandela, Benjamin Ramotse and 18 others showed magnificent courage, solidarity and defiance in the face of their persecutors. Notwithstanding the torture, solitary confinement and other brutal methods of third degree to which they were subjected—in some cases for over two years before being

brought to trial—they remained true to their convictions, converted defence to attack, and demonstrated the guilt of the apartheid regime before the bar of world opinion.

The explosion of A.N.C. leaflet-bombs in all the main centres of South Africa under the noses of the police last August shook the complacency of the Nationalist Government. The Minister of Police, Mr. S. L. Muller, deplored the widespread publicity given to the explosions, but at the same time warned: "The public must not think that the dangers are a thing of the past. It is something with which we shall just have to live".

The widespread demonstrations by students, Black Sash and others in protest against the continued detention of the accused under the Terrorism Act after they had been acquitted in the Suppression of Communism Act trial last February were a magnificent display of solidarity. In Johannesburg Wits students marched to police headquarters in defiance of a ban by the chief magistrate, showing a refreshing new spirit of militancy and determination. The Government showed its sensitivity on the issue by accepting admission of guilt fines on minor charges instead of prosecuting the students under the Criminal Laws Amendment or Riotous Assemblies Acts, thereby avoiding the publicity of a trial which would have turned public opinion still further against them.

The 400 African workers who went on strike at McPhail's coalyard in Johannesburg last August, in protest against the victimisation tactics of their White foreman, showed that solidarity and determination could defeat the combined efforts of employers and police to break them. The bosses, after calling in the police, were forced to climb down when they found themselves in danger of losing their entire labour force.

These are only some of the many incidents which have taken place in South Africa recently, and which show that nothing the Government can do can crush the people's spirit

of resistance. Apartheid is rejected by the overwhelming majority of the South African people, who are daily disproving the Government's claim that "separate development" is the road to peace.

SOUL MUSIC

The article by J. K. Obatala on "U.S. Soul Music in Africa" which was published in the "African Communist" No. 41, Second Quarter 1970, was reviewed by Tom Foley in an article "A Study in Deception" published in the American "Daily World", organ of the U. S. Communist Party.

Commenting on Obatala's remark that "in Africa, the concept of 'soul' has become impregnated with the ideological germs of capitalism" and "symbolises a capitalist heaven", and that "soul music" is being used to perpetuate "the myth that black people in the U.S. are incredibly wealthy", Foley writes:

"American readers ought to be deeply disturbed by Obatala's article: Africa's peoples simply cannot be allowed to believe that the U.S. is a paradise for anybody".

From the 1970 Augmented Meeting of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party

FREEDOM CAN BE WON

A CALL TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE

How can we, the oppressed working people of South Africa, free our country from white minority domination and win power for the people? This is the main question that faces us all. This was the main question that was discussed by the historic 1970 meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Our people have many serious problems and grievances.

Every non-white in South Africa knows the daily insults and hardships of life in our country.

We are not allowed to vote, not allowed to move freely, told we are "inferior". Racialist lies are even taught to our children under "Bantu education".

People are heartlessly sent away like cattle to "resettlement areas".

Every African knows well the problem of the *pass laws* which send a million to prison every year, and subject every man and woman to brutal terror by the police.

There is the burning problem of *land*—nearly 90 per cent of the land is in the hands of whites, while Africans starve in the reserves or work for next to nothing as farm-labourers.

The black *worker* faces an impossible task of trying to live on starvation *wages*: he is denied the chance of a skilled job and has no trade union rights, while prices, fares, rents go up all the time.

The *Coloured* and *Indian* people are also the victims of apartheid, of Group Areas, Job Reservation and other vicious and cruel laws.

All these grievances and many others are well known to us. We talk about them all the time. But in our hearts we know also that we will never be rid of these evils until we get rid of the *main* problem—white minority rule.

THERE IS A WAY!

The government and the system it upholds can be overthrown. The whole of world history teaches us that unjust minority governments cannot last. Over the past twenty years alone, practically the whole continents of Asia and Africa have seen the people winning their right to their own governments.

Freedom can and will be won in South Africa as well.

But we must not deceive ourselves. Our freedom will not drop from the skies. Nor will it be brought to us from outside South Africa. We have hundreds and millions of friends all over the world who want to see South Africa restored to the people of this country. But not all their resolutions and protests will help us *unless and until the people of our country stand up and fight for themselves.*

How are we to do this?

We must study and understand the situation in our country and its place in the world.

We must organise and unite our forces.

We must be resolved to resist, defy and oppose oppressior in every form and in every way.

We must be armed and ready to fight—if need be to die—for our freedom.

UNDERSTANDING THE WORLD

The first step to changing the world is understanding it.

Our struggle for freedom in South Africa is not an isolated one. It is part of a world-wide conflict that is going on. On the one side are the forces of socialism, of national liberation and of peace. On the other are the forces of imperialism, of exploitation and of war.

It is this conflict which will decide the future of South Africa and of all men and women everywhere.

We need to understand this conflict because above all we need to understand who are our friends and who are our enemies.

We must look at people's deeds as well as their words!

The imperialist governments, like those of the United States, Britain, France and West Germany, pretend to be opponents of apartheid. But what do they do about it in practice? They help the Vorster regime in every way they dare to: with money, with trade, with arms. Indeed they are partners in the oppression and exploitation of our people. Look around you at all the British, American, West German and French businesses and factories in our country. They are doing very well out of apartheid, because it means low wages and big profits for their capitalists.

That is why they sabotage every United Nations decision for the boycott of South Africa. To appease world opinion, especially in African and Asian countries, they say they are against apartheid. But who can believe them?

IMPERIALISM

The United States of America claims to be in favour of equality and peace. But for years now they have been carry-

ing on the most cruel and murderous war to subdue the people of Vietnam. Their treatment of the black people in their own country is a disgrace.

The United States, Britain, West Germany and France are *imperialist* countries, controlled by huge capitalist monopolies. These monopolies are only interested in increasing their huge profits, by dominating other nations, by investing abroad to exploit cheap raw materials and labour, by aggression and war.

Imperialism is the enemy of all humanity.

It is the friend of reaction and racialism everywhere; the friend of neo-Nazi Vorster South Africa. South African imperialism is a part of and closely tied up with world imperialism.

The imperialists invented the lie of racialism to justify their enslavement and robbery of most of the world's peoples. They preach that some races are 'better' than others, and that therefore it is all right for two-thirds of the people of the world to live miserable and short lives, deprived of enough food, clothes and shelter, without land, education for their children, security or leisure.

The capitalists find these ideas very useful. Here in South Africa we have seen how racialism has degraded and deformed the white workers. Instead of fighting the bosses, they join with them in oppressing their black fellow-workers, and think only of keeping the African out of a skilled job.

Imperialism—monopoly capitalism—is the enemy of all the people's aspirations for peace and happiness. Above all they hate and fear socialism which will put an end forever to the exploitation of man by man and to every form of racial and colour discrimination.

THE WORLD FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM

When we just look at our own country, it seems that there is nothing but a bitter and endless struggle between us and

the oppressors; that they have the backing of the big powers like the United States, Britain, France and Germany.

But this is not the whole picture. We, the oppressed peoples of South Africa, have our friends and allies as well. They are hundreds and millions of working people, people who want peace and freedom, who want national freedom, a better life and socialism. Our common enemy is imperialism.

The people of Vietnam are under savage attack by a powerful and ruthless enemy: United States imperialism, which year after year has been trying by fire and terror and starvation, in which hundreds of thousands have been murdered by Yankee troops, napalm and other weapons, to force them to submit. But the Vietnamese did not submit and never will submit. They value freedom more than life itself. That is why they cannot be defeated. Their example is an inspiration to us. They are our friends and comrades in arms, and their victories are our victories.

Our fellow-Africans in Egypt have for several years now been under violent attack by the Zionists of Israel, who are armed and incited by U.S. imperialism to do their dirty work in North Africa and the Middle East. But—given generous and powerful assistance by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries—the Egyptian people will not submit to having half of their country occupied. They are fighting back for freedom and independence. They too are our friends and allies.

OUR NEIGHBOURS

Nearest and closest to us are our fellow-Africans in the border countries and further north.

There are the people of *Namibia*—South West Africa.

We all know that this huge country has been unlawfully seized by the government of South Africa. They have taken the best farmlands and handed them over to white farmers.

They have laid their hands on the rich mineral deposits, including diamonds and uranium, and sold them to big foreign monopolies. They are forcing the indigenous peoples to undergo the indignity and terror of apartheid.

The brother-peoples of Namibia are not submitting. They are organising and fighting back. They are not waiting for the United Nations which passes fine resolutions—but can do nothing because the US, Britain, France and other imperialist countries sabotage these resolutions. The Namibians are organising for armed struggle for their freedom.

We South Africans support them one hundred per cent. We demand that Vorster and his government quit Namibia. We demand independence and self-government for its people. They are our kinsfolk and brothers; we have the same fight against the same enemy—South African imperialism.

The people of *Zimbabwe* (Rhodesia) are not submitting. The British Government claims that Rhodesia is its colony and that Smith is a rebel. But in practice they have done nothing to put down this phoney 'rebellion'. They talk about sanctions—but everybody knows that South Africa is defying the so-called sanctions and sending the Smith regime everything it needs.

The Zimbabwe people, our brothers and sisters, are not waiting for Britain and the United Nations to free them; they have learnt that the only way to freedom is to fight for it.

The revolution in Zimbabwe has already begun. It probably would have been won already, except for the support of South African arms, troops and policemen.

Our armed guerillas of Umkhonto we Sizwe have already gone through the fires of battle in Zimbabwe. At Wankie and in other battlefields, together with the fighting men of ZAPU they faced the Smith and Vorster forces and inflicted heavy casualties on them. This is a common fight against a common

enemy. This is the beginning of a war for the whole of Southern Africa. It will be a long and bitter war. But in the end we shall win. From each battle we gain experience; for each dead African patriot many more will join to take his place.

PORTUGUESE COLONIES

White South African storm troopers do not only intervene in Zimbabwe. In *Mozambique* and in *Angola* they are supporting the Portuguese colonialists in their cruel and long war against the people of Angola and Mozambique.

These colonies, together with Guinea-Bissau, are the last areas of direct European rule left in Africa.

Portugal is one of the poorest and smallest countries in Europe. How does it manage to keep on this bitter and costly war to hang on to its colonies?

Mainly because it is supported by the imperialist countries with whom it is associated in NATO (North American Treaty Organisation)—America, West Germany, Britain, France and others. They help the Portuguese fascists with arms and money to try and keep their slave regimes in Africa.

The White Government of the Republic knows that the people's victories over Portuguese colonialism are dangerous to its rule here. They are afraid of free African governments on our borders. They help Portugal with weapons, money and even White soldiers from the Republic.

But in spite of his friends and allies, Caetano, the Portuguese dictator, is losing his colonial wars in Africa.

Thousands of square miles and hundreds of thousands of people have already been liberated in these territories. The liberation movements do not only fight and defeat the Portuguese soldiers; they are already ruling in many regions

and provinces where the Portuguese soldiers do not dare to go. In these areas the people are building a new life, they have taken over the land and the government.

The people of these countries, the brave soldiers of their liberation armies, led by the FRELIMO of Mozambique, the MPLA of Angola and the PAIGC of Guinea, are our close allies and comrades-in-arms.

It is our duty to help them as much as we can. Their victories are ours as well.

AFRICAN STATES

We are not living in the Africa of the fifties, where the whole map of the continent was painted in different colours to show British, French and other 'possessions' of European countries.

There are now forty independent African states, governed by African Presidents, Prime Ministers, governments and parliaments.

Of course these countries are not all in the same position. Some are big and developing quickly. Many others are small and having been so long misgoverned by foreigners—poor and undeveloped.

Take our neighbours—Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana. For many years these countries were governed by Britain which was not at all interested in developing them, in building modern agriculture and industries to give jobs to the Basotho, Swazi and Batswana. They were more interested in keeping these countries backward so that their men would be forced to work in the South African gold mines, where rich Englishmen have many millions of pounds invested.

Today although they are independent in name, they are dominated by their big, bullying neighbour, the Republic of South Africa, where black men are regarded as inferiors, provided by God to work for the white baas.

But the people of these countries have one thing in common. They hate apartheid—they know it all too well, from first hand experience. They will fight to the last man against incorporation by the Republic. When the people of Lesotho had a chance to vote they turned their backs on Vorster's pal Leabua Jonathan. Sir Seretse Khama, President of Botswana, is building a road to join up with Zambia, so that his

country will not be so dependent economically on the Republic. And in spite of the bullying threats of Vorster, who is trying to stop it, Botswana is going ahead with that road.

When it comes to the showdown we know that the whole population of these countries are on our side. They can never be free or independent while white supremacy rules in Pretoria—and they know it.

UP NORTH

The people of all the independent states of Africa hate apartheid and white domination in South Africa.

The only African state which openly supports or has dealings with the Pretoria clique is that of Dr. Banda in Malawi. Everybody knows that this little tinpot dictator is bribed by the Rand millionaires. Even his own people do not agree with him. They know all too well the hardships and ruthlessness of white domination in our country. Hundreds of thousands of them have come and still come to work on the mines—they know what it is like.

Most free African states have taken a firm stand against white minority rule.

Naturally the whole idea and practice of 'white superiority' is deeply offensive to African nations who have, in the past few years, managed to throw off foreign domination and are determined to show their people and the world that Africans can govern themselves far better than any other nations could govern them. Apartheid is intolerable to any self-respecting African patriot.

The people of African states are deeply concerned with the sufferings and indignities of their brothers and sisters in Southern Africa. They long to see the ending of white domination south of the Zambesi and Limpopo rivers. But this is not the only reason why they are greatly concerned with events in our country.

A THREAT TO AFRICA

What has independence meant to the countries of Africa? Many people are disappointed because they have not made more rapid progress over the past ten years. It is true that many African states have failed to follow up formal independence by truly breaking free from colonialism. The West European and United States capitalists still have a dominating influence in their economic life—they own their banks, mines, and big businesses.

Many of the better-off sections of the Africans—shopkeepers, big farmers and some members of governments—care little for the lot of the masses on the land. They care only to enrich themselves, and are prepared to become partners with the imperialists in exploiting their fellow-countrymen. Imperialism still has a powerful footing in most African countries. It uses its influence to hold back progress. It bribes and intrigues and backs up reactionary coups and anti-African elements.

But no African wants to go back to the dark days of colonialism.

The people of these countries have gained their independence after many years of injustice, backwardness and humiliation under foreign rule. They do not wish to lose these things now. They must aim at strengthening their independence, developing the wealth of the country to get higher standards of living, and ensuring that their people enjoy a good education, health and security. Most of them want to march forward to a free, socialist Africa.

The fascist Republic of South Africa and its imperialist allies threaten all these goals. They are against socialism and want to strengthen capitalism. South African imperialism wants to extend its power northwards. They want to lay their hands on the treasures of all Africa, to return the continent to the hell of colonialism, to keep all Africans poor, back-

ward, objects of cheap labour as they are in the Republic itself.

No African state that values its independence can ignore this danger. The Republic has a more highly developed industry (developed largely by African labour!) a bigger and better equipped army, a more powerful state machine than any state South of the Sahara.

Already the Republic is using its big military build-up in the stolen territory, the Caprivi Strip of Namibia, to make bullying threats against Botswana and Zambia. It is using the satellite Banda to make threats and territorial claims against Tanzania and Zambia.

There are many reasons why all African countries should unite. But even if there were no reason, they are urgently called on to unite against the threat of aggression from the South.

The African states are beginning more clearly to recognise this threat. They are calling upon the United Nations to bring in stronger steps to stop the imperialist countries sell-

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ing arms to South Africa. Many of them have threatened to leave the British Commonwealth if the Conservatives resume the sale of arms to South Africa.

They are right to do so. Each African state has a solemn duty to its people and its neighbours to be on guard against South African penetration and aggression; to build up its security and defences, to give positive and increasing aid to South African freedom fighters.

We South Africans also have a duty. We must build up our own strength and resistance, and prepare for revolution. We must solemnly warn the white fascist government that any step against an African state, whether it be little Lesotho, or Zambia or Tanzania, will not be tolerated by the people of South Africa.

THE REST OF THE WORLD

It is not only the African states which are deeply concerned with the future of our country. The whole of Asia is concerned.

The ideology and practice of apartheid are an intolerable insult to all dark-skinned persons, whether in Africa, Asia or the Americas. It is intolerable to the great and proud nation of India, 500 million strong, and to the People's Republic of China, with 700 million people, that hundreds of thousands of men and women born and bred in South Africa are deprived of every human right merely because their forefathers came from their countries.

Apartheid is an outrage to the labour, democratic and Christian principles in Western Europe and North America. Even though their governments and their rich capitalist investors find it profitable to do business with apartheid and help Vorster with money and weapons, the masses of ordinary working people in these countries do not agree with these practices.

That is why, one by one, white South African teams are being thrown out of every international sporting contest, whether it is the Olympic Games or a cricket tour of England.

That is why next year, 1971, has been set aside by the United Nations General Assembly as a year of protest against racialism everywhere—with the spotlight on apartheid South Africa, the worst example of the lot.

That is why in Britain, France and many other countries a storm of protest is gathering against the supply of arms to Vorster, against emigration of skilled white workers to the Republic to take the bread out of the mouths of our dark skinned workers who are fully capable of being trained to do these jobs.

While we are considering this question, we must also turn our attention to the world Communist movement, and to the hundreds of millions of people—one third of the human race—who live in countries governed by Communist Parties.

WHAT ABOUT COMMUNISM?

The Nationalist Party and its government is most afraid of Communism. They have passed all sorts of laws to 'stop' the ideas of Communism being known and to punish those who uphold these ideas.

They say that Communism is a very bad thing and a danger to the country.

The very fact that these things are said by Vorster and his government makes it hard for any sensible person to believe them. For these men are notorious and habitual liars. They tell the world that apartheid is a good thing, that the "Bantu" are very happy here, that South Africa is a democratic country. Everybody knows this is all lies. How can apartheid be good, when it leads to untold suffering and humiliation for all dark-skinned people? How can Africans be "happy"

when their land is stolen, when they are confined to menial and dangerous jobs at starvation wages, when they have no vote or say in the laws of the land? Why should we believe these liars when they say that Communism is bad? Rather we would think that if Communism is bad for Vorster and his racialist government and his bullying police thugs, it must be good for us!

Let us look at the facts.

We know that very many of the South African Communists are in prison today, not for committing any crimes but because they spoke out and stood up for the rights of the people, against pass laws and Bantu education, for land, votes and freedom for all.

We know that Soviet Russia and other countries governed by Communists have always demanded the rights of Africans, condemned apartheid, and in deeds as well as words supported and armed our freedom fighters.

In Britian, France, America and all over the world it is the Communists who are the strongest supporters of the Anti-apartheid movements, fighting for boycotts of the Nationalist government and all-white sports teams, opposing the sale of arms and other forms of support for white domination in South Africa, Namibia (South West Africa) and Rhodesia.

The Communists everywhere fight against apartheid and every other sort of racialist ideas and practices because the

basic ideas of Marx and Lenin are internationalist. That is why these ideas are so hated and feared by the white racialists of Southern Africa. That is why, in every part of the world from Vietnam in the East to Cuba in the Americas, from Egypt to South Africa, the Communists are the foremost in opposing imperialism and colonialism.

THE SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE

The Communists are the foremost fighters for a new way of life—socialism. The way we live now is called capitalism. The workers are at the mercy of a few rich men who own the mines, the factories, the land and other means of production. The bosses make them work as much as possible for as little money as possible. In most countries the workers (in South Africa this does not of course apply to Africans) are allowed to form trade unions which help to get better pay and conditions. But even then, the higher wages are quickly swallowed up by higher prices!

The bosses get rich out of the labour of the workers. This is what we call exploitation. Their profits are really unpaid labour; because the amount we get in wages only covers a small part of the time we work.

The only way to stop this state of semi-slavery is to put an end to private ownership of the means of production. No man should own the factories, mines, banks and so on. They should belong to everybody. That is what we mean by socialism.

This idea is easy for Africans, in particular, to understand. For generations the main means of production in Africa—the land—was not owned privately. The land did not belong to the Chief: it belonged to the people as a whole.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and other great men saw that it was not only terribly unjust but also wasteful and harmful to

allow a handful of rich parasites to run the business of the country. They pointed out that they did not only run the businesses, but also because of their power and the money they were able to run the state as well, and to decide big questions that should be decided by the people: questions of peace or war; questions of making the laws under which people have to live.

Today it has been proved, in the Soviet Union and many other European countries, in China and other Asian countries, in Cuba, an American country, that the ideas of Marx and Lenin are not only just and human, but also that socialism works better than capitalism. Today one human being out of every three lives in a socialist society where there are no extremes of poverty and wealth, where there is no unemployment or illiteracy, where every boy and girl has an equal chance to get a good education and enter any trade, profession or occupation.

Socialism is good for the people—the workers and poor people on the land; for the teachers and other professional people; for nearly everybody. But of course it is very bad for the rich who want to live in idleness on other people's work. They will lose their power and their privileges, and have to work for their living like everyone else. That is why they hate socialism, and its foremost advocates, the Communists. That is why they tell lies about these things. As they own the newspapers and the radio stations and other means of information, they can spread their lies widely, and many people believe them. But you cannot deceive the people forever.

Look at South Africa today.

If you would believe the newspapers and the radio you would think that we live in a very rich and happy land.

But we who live in it know that it is a land of suffering and starvation. It can only be ruled by force and terror. It is a land where there are more prisoners in jail per head of the population than any other. More than half of all the people

who were executed in the world last year were killed in our country. Yet ours is only a small fraction of the world population. That is your 'happy South Africa.'

PROSPERITY—FOR WHOM?

The fascist government and its friends abroad talk about the "wave of prosperity" in South Africa. Prosperity—for whom?

Certainly it is true that more goods are being produced in this country than ever before. Some people are getting very rich. Fortunes are being made.

The big businessmen, financiers, mine owners and farmers have accumulated great wealth. So have the foreign firms which have invested in this country.

Even the white workers have benefitted from the boom. They have been given a monopoly of skilled jobs, and they use this monopoly to hold out for higher wages.

But the masses of non-whites, above all the Africans, have not benefitted at all from the so-called "prosperity". In many ways their position has steadily got worse and worse. Prices have gone higher and higher, but not wages.

Look at the gold mines. It has been worked out that taking the fall in the value of money (that is, the steady rise of prices) an African miner gets *less* today than he did fifty years ago, in 1911!

The gap between the wages of white workers and those of Africans is getting bigger and bigger. On West Driefontein, the biggest mine in the country, each white miner averaged R4250 a year; each African R280—just about one-eighteenth. Taking the country as a whole African income averages R140 per year; whites R2,100—fifteen times as much.

Africans in the big towns are relatively better off than those in the dorps, the platteland and the reserves. Yet even in

Johannesburg the City Council is forced to admit that nearly 70 per cent of African families are living below the official 'bread line' of R53.2 per month.

In other words in the middle of all this so-called "prosperity" our people are starving. It is not prosperity at all. It is merely that more and more profit is being squeezed out of cheap non-white labour.

How can the African workers improve their wages?

We are not allowed to form legal trade unions. The Government has openly said it is out to smash the African trade union movement; and bannings and restrictions have forced the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions—the best trade union movement this country ever had—for the time being to stop organising openly. For every trade union organiser or official is immediately banned or deported.

All strikes are illegal, and we have seen how when the Durban dockers bravely went on strike to get an increase on their miserable pay, thousands of them were deported out of the town.

Still they did strike. And certainly the workers, even under these conditions of illegality, must and will find ways and means to unite and organise to enforce their demands.

More and more Africans have come into urban and factory jobs over the past ten years; today they are the big majority of workers in every industry. They outnumber whites in industry by six to one.

Without African labour the work of the country will come to a stop. That is a weapon which the African workers can and must use to get better pay and conditions of work.

We demand the right to form trade unions openly, like workers everywhere else. Until we win that right we shall organise secretly, because we know that any worker who organises openly will be victimised by the bosses and the police. We shall form committees, working at first in a few factories and then spreading to cover whole industries and

the whole country. If we all unite together there is nothing the bosses or the government can do to stop us.

But above all, African workers must realise that we shall never get decent conditions until we do away with the white monopolies of votes, of jobs, of power. A government elected by whites will never give us skilled jobs, decent wages and trade unions rights and recognition. There is only one way, in the end, to win these things: by *revolution*: by fighting for a free South Africa, without colour bars; jobs, land, votes and equality of rights and opportunities.

The aim of the workers, eventually, is socialism. The mines, factories, banks, land and big business must be in the hands of the people. They must be owned and run by a state in which the majority—the working people of town and country—hold power.

Today, the main task of the working class is to abolish the white monopoly of power, to carry out the national democratic revolution for the liberation of African and other oppressed people.

The workers are not alone in this fight. This revolution serves the interests of all oppressed people, those on the farms and in the reserves, the Africans, the Indians, the Coloured people and even progressive sections among the whites. It fights under the banner of the united front—represented by the African National Congress and its allies, which is supported by the workers' Party—the Communist Party.

But our workers have a special and most important part to play in this fight. They are those who own nothing except their labour power. They have no interest at all in keeping things as they are. Their conditions of work have taught them the lessons of working-together, of discipline and organisation. The whole country—its goods and transport, its daily life—depends on the workers. It is up to them to play a special role in our revolution, to be ever to the fore, the most

active and clear-sighted, in helping the people to organise, to resist, to fight back and to win freedom.

Closest to the workers or the towns are the masses in the countryside.

ON THE LAND

Africans living and working on the land—whether as agricultural labourers on white-owned farms, or in the so-called "homelands"—have the hardest and most miserable lot of any people in this country.

From 1948 to 1968 mealie production on "white farms" went up from 30 to 100 million bags. Of course all this work was done by Africans—you hardly see a white man on the farms these days. But the absentee white farmer took all the profits, and the pay of the labourer remained as miserable as ever.

What about the reserves? (Bantu homelands, as the Government like to call them, though everyone knows the Africans' homeland is the whole of South Africa!)

Here maize and corn production have actually gone down, as a result of overcrowding and lack of land. The people and their cattle as well are literally starving.

What about the jobs the Government promised the people if they accepted their lying Bantu Authorities plan? There are no jobs.

There is no "self-government". The Transkei "Parliament" is just a bad joke. Everyone knows that Matanzima can do nothing without the permission of the Bantu Affairs department. He is just a rubber-stamp for the white Government in Pretoria. The government wants to ensure that the Chiefs are no longer the mouthpieces and leaders of their people. It wants to make them just B.A.D. officials with black skins—working for "boy's" wages

What are the people on the platteland going to do about it?

They know today, from bitter experience, that they will get nothing from the white man's Parliament by begging and praying.

The only way is to unite and fight back for land and freedom.

The first step is organisation. On the white farms and in the "Bantustans" the farmworkers must begin to form labourer's unions and other organisations. They must demand better pay and food, more land, more rights.

Of course we know that police spies, informers and stooges are to be found everywhere. That is why the formation of organisations must be careful and skilful.

But what is sure is that once militant organisation begins, the people will respond. They will find their own ways of uniting in each area.What is important is to break the silence of the past ten years. Government terror succeeded for a time in stifling the people's protests. Emergency laws, victimisation and bannings of all known and tried leaders gagged the people. The Government was able to boast that everything is quiet; the people are very happy and contented. But they are not happy or contented. The 1970's are going to show they are angry and militant; ready for revolution.

UNITY FOR FREEDOM

For very many years the ruling class in South Africa tried hard to divide the forces of the oppressed people of South Africa. They tried to get the Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa, Tswana and other African groups fighting among themselves. They tried to set Africans against Indians and Coloured people.

This policy was defeated, especially during the forties and fifties by the African National Congress, which first of all united all Africans and then formed an alliance with the Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the prog-

ressive whites of the Congress of Democrats, and with the non-racial Congress of Trade Unions—a united front against the common enemy: apartheid and white minority rule.

The answer of the police state was to answer reason with force. They banned the ANC and the COD, and they persecuted the other organisations of the Alliance by banning and silencing each of their leaders until these bodies were temporarily silenced.

But what they could not do by force or in any other way was to destroy the spirit of unity in the common struggle which had been built up in so many years of hard work and sacrifice.

The *Coloured* people have refused to follow those stooge leaders who tell them they are merely an appendage of the dominant white group. They are a national group of their own, with strong ties with the oppressed African majority, the leading force of the coming South African revolution for complete democracy and national liberation for all South Africans. Most Coloured voters boycotted last year's elections for the phoney Coloured Representative Council; most of those who did vote rejected the pro-apartheid stooges. The Coloured people, especially the workers and trade unionists and the revolutionary intellectuals, will find new ways to build organisation and unity, to revive the CPC spirit, and to form close links with their fellow-oppressed non-whites, African and Indian.

The *Indian* people are being hit ever harder by the monstrous Group Areas Act. As a result of this law, Indians have more and more come into the ranks of the working class, and the unemployed. In spite of massive police intimidation, the time has arrived when a new upsurge of militancy is showing itself among the Indian community, whose best elements are reaching out to take up the torch lit by Dr. Dadoo and Dr. Naicker and others, the torch of militancy and unity with the African masses in the common struggle for freedom.

The *women* of our country, especially those subjected to the double burden of oppression as Africans and as women, have always been prominent in the great national liberation struggles in our country. Today, with the extension of passes to African women, and the terrible difficulties of feeding their families at such high prices and on such low incomes, the need for womenfolk to be active and organised is greater than ever before. That is why women must enrol as equals and comrades in our fight for a truly free South Africa.

The *youth and students* have shown time and again, especially in the past few years, that they are worthy sons and daughters of the great traditions of our people. Even in the bush colleges, those glorified prisons, under the shadow of bans and expulsions, students have raised the banner of national liberation and freedom, and many white students in the English-speaking universities have had the courage and democratic spirit to demonstrate for the rights of the oppressed majority. We may look with confidence to the youth, the builders of the new, free South Africa, to uphold the aims of our national democratic revolution, enshrined in the Freedom Charter, and to sacrifice and fight, if need be, to die, for the cause of liberation.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The greatest organisation of the South African democratic revolution is the African National Congress, undisputed leader of the African majority of our population. From 1912 until 1960, when it was banned by the Nationalist Party government, the A.N.C. openly organised the African people to unite and struggle for their rights. Thousands of ANC members have been arrested, some murdered, many tortured and banned. Many of its famous leaders like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki are serving life

and other long jail sentences, others like Oliver Tambo, J. B. Marks and Moses Kotane have been sent into exile to continue the work from outside the country.

Verwoerd and Vorster hoped that the banning would be the end of the ANC. They boasted the ANC was dead. But every year has seen new trials of ANC leaders. Every year has seen fresh ANC demonstrations, leaflets spread among the people and other forms of activity.

The spirit and the policy of the ANC are known and loved by our people. Its Programme, the Freedom Charter, remains the programme of all freedom-loving South Africans. The black-green-gold of Congress, our Congress national anthem Nkosi Sikalel' iAfrika these are things which our people have not forgotten and will never forget.

Although it is banned and illegal, the ANC remains the core and the heart of the liberation movement in South Africa; all over our country Congress people are patiently, though necessarily at this stage secretly working to bring nearer the day of liberation from tyranny.

FIGHTING WITH ARMS

Everyone knows that patiently for many years the Congress movement tried by peaceful demonstrations, protests and strikes to bring about a change for the better in the lot of the people. They failed for one reason only: every request, every protest was met by the white government with force and violence, by more severe oppression, until in the end, throwing even the pretence of democracy and legality overboard, they banned the ANC and relied entirely on brute force to subject the masses.

Faced with this situation, the liberation movement decided that a force of the oppressed people should be built up to meet violence with violence, a force able to lead the masses in armed struggle for their freedom. That force was named: Umkhonto we Sizwe. It announced its birth with planned acts

of sabotage in many centres on Dingane's Day: December 16, 1961.

Plans were made to recruit dedicated young men and send them out of the country for military training. For the first time since the days of the old impis, the Africans of South Africa have a military force at their disposal, armed not with assegais but modern automatic firearms.

Already in alliance with the guerilla fighters of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, the freedom fighters of Umkhonto have met the enemy in the field. They fought with great courage and skill, inflicting heavy casualties on the Smith and Vorster forces.

To build up, train, equip and maintain such a force was a great achievement, carried out under extremely difficult and dangerous conditions.

Of course we have suffered our casualties as well. Brave young sons of Africa fell in the field under enemy attack. At home, thousands have been captured, imprisoned for life like Mandela, or killed like Mini and many another.

But we know that there can be no war without sacrifices and victims. We have resolved to die in battle rather than submit to slavery. That is why the people have started this war of liberation, from which there will be no stepping back. And because we are ready for anything, no matter how long it takes or how heavy the cost, we shall win our freedom.

Let us make no mistake. The present bosses of South Africa are ruthless, greedy and violent. They have shown that they will not give up their evil teachings and practices of racialism by pleas and protests, either from the people of this country, or by the whole world. There is only one language they understand: force. And we shall not force them to accept freedom and democracy until we can prove that we are stronger, better organised and better fighters than they are.

Yes, we have hundreds of millions of friends, all over the

world. They are ready to support and help us get rid of white minority rule.

But before they can help us, and in order to enable them to help us, we must first of all learn and begin to FIGHT FOR OURSELVES! No one will come from outside. For twenty years now the United Nations have been passing strong resolutions against apartheid and racialism. The fascist government of the Nationalist Party ignores all of these resolutions; today in 1970 our oppression is harsher than ever before.

PEOPLE'S WAR

All the oppressed people long for freedom. But some doubt whether it can be won in our lifetime.

They look around them and they see that all the power, all the money, all the weapons are in the hands of whites. Our respected leaders, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Bram Fischer, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi and many others are in prison. Others have been sent out by their organisations to work in exile. The A.N.C. and the Communist Party are underground, and meetings, demonstrations, people's newspapers have been stopped for many years. Spies and informers help the police trap anyone who dares to protest or speak of freedom.

How can we, a people without arms, subjected to terror by day and by night, hope to fight back and win?

Yes. It is true the enemy is powerful. They have the armoured cars and the tanks, the planes and the command of the roads and the railways.

But there is a way to fight; to beat the enemy. It is the way of people's war.

The Vorster government jails, tortures, exiles and murders our leaders not because it is strong and confident, but

because in reality it is weak and afraid. It is afraid of the people over whom it unjustly rules, who form the great majority of South Africans.

We are stronger than the Government because the liberation movement commands the support of the great majority of the people, while it is supported only by the white minority which is not fighting for rights or freedoms but only greed and privilege. The moment they see they are on the losing side they will desert the fascists.

One by one the advantages of the enemy will be overcome.

We have no weapons?

We shall take weapons from the enemy and make our own weapons: petrol bombs, hand grenades, the simple weapons of the freedom fighter.

We have only a handful of trained men at our disposal?

Those few will train thousands. Our skills in the art of war will improve with experience.

We shall not aim to meet his troops head on, that is not the way of the freedom fighter. We shall meet them by the methods of guerilla war: Hit and run.

We shall hit him by surprise, when he least expects it. When he looks for us we shall not be there.

In such a huge country as South Africa, our men will be hard to find. By the time his planes arrive to bomb the guerilla fighters, they will have melted into the countryside. They will have merged into the people, to whom they belong and of whom they are a part.

For the guerilla wears no uniform. His strength is that of the people. Always and everywhere, our freedom fighters are among the masses, voicing their demands and defending them against the enemy, his soldiers and police.

Nothing the enemy does is secret, for everywhere the people are watching him and reporting his movements to the guerillas.

This is not a war that is fought on the battlefields only. It is fought in the factories and on the land.

As the clashes grow in number and size, the workers will refuse to work for the oppressor. They will strike and sabotage his production of weapons and supplies. The people of the countryside will become more militant and courageous. They will take themselves the land for which they hunger, and arm their own freedom fighters to defend it.

The roads will be bombed and the railways destroyed; by the people in the surrounding areas.

As the enemy's lines are extended, his strength will be sapped.

Already white South African troops are being sent to Zimbabwe, to Mozambique, to Angola. They are patrolling our long borders.

The higher rises the tide of struggle the more they will be dispersed; the more our superiority of numbers will assert itself.

This is how it has happened in other areas of people's war: In Vietnam, in Algeria, in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea.

Time and space and numbers are on our side. Justice and the outside world are on our side.

The difficulty is only one: to start.

That is the task that now faces the working people and patriots of South Africa.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY CALLS ON YOU

Dear Comrades and fellow-South Africans, you who read this message.

You know the Communist Party and its record.

It was founded in July 1921, fifty years ago.

For fifty years our Party has never feared to fight in the front ranks against colour bars and oppression, for better wages, land, a new life of freedom for the people. Hundreds of our best comrades, from Johannes Nkosi to Govan Mbeki,

Ahmed Kathrada and Bram Fischer have given their lives and liberty for the cause of the people.

This Party can never be killed by the enemy.

Today at this critical time, the Communist Party calls on you. It calls on all South Africans who love their country and who love freedom. We call upon the workers and the people in the countryside. We call upon the African people, the Coloured people, the Indians and the democratic elements among the whites.

Let us build up our people's organisations, in town and country, in factories, mines and villages.

Let us unite for the fight to end the shame and suffering of white minority rule headed by the Nazi Nationalist Party.

Let us resolve that the beginning of the seventies will put an end to white South Africa and mark the beginning of People's South Africa, advancing towards socialism.

The armed groups of Umkhonto we Sizwe are ready to enter the fight. But they cannot fight alone.

The people must act!

They must build and support their illegal organisations, the ANC, the trade unions and the Communist Party.

They must act militantly for higher wages, land and freedom.

They must arouse the spirit of resistance and defiance.

They must arm themselves.

The war of national liberation is on and we must fight it to the finish.

Victory or death!

The 1970 Augmented Meeting of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party

REPORT & DECISIONS

The 1970 Augmented Central Committee Meeting was an important milestone in the history of the South African Communist Party, which will celebrate its 50th Anniversary in July 1971.

The last National Conference of the Party was held under conditions of illegality in South Africa in 1962. Since then several full Central Committee meetings had been held. A regularly functioning and active Executive had been appointed to direct and intensify the activities of the Party.

But the particularly difficult conditions facing our Party, especially the widespread dispersion of our cadres, hitherto made it impossible to convene a meeting sufficiently representative in character, which could in the democratic tradition of our Party, review the activities of the Executive, assess the lessons of our successes and failures, and decide the future policy and leadership of the Party.

Heavy blows had been struck by the fascist police at the Party and other revolutionaries in the 'Rivonia', 'Fischer' and other trials of the sixties, many members of the Party including leading cadres, suffering lifetime and other severe prison sentences. The Party's internal organisation had suffered

serious setbacks; its cadres were widely scattered, some in exile on Party duties, others serving in the national liberation army: Umkhonto we Sizwe.

FORMIDABLE TASKS

Formidable tasks therefore faced the Augmented Meeting. Following widespread discussion at all levels of the Party, the Meeting—comprising a majority of non-members of the Executive, including a number of Party members who had already participated in armed struggle—was called to review comprehensive organisational and political reports from the Executive.

Far-reaching developments in South Africa, on the African continent and in the international situation face the Party with new problems and tasks. The hard and dangerous work of rebuilding the Party's organisational structure under conditions of ferocious terror; the unfolding of the armed struggle for the advance of the South African revolution; the mobilisation of the working class and rural masses, and the various strata of oppressed people; the strengthening of the national liberation movement headed by the African National Congress; the unfolding of a broad people's alliance in Southern Africa against the combined forces of South African imperialism, Portuguese colonialism and the illegal Smith regime—backed by international finance-capital; these and related problems occupied the focus of the meeting's deliberations.

In addition, the meeting reviewed and assessed the Party's international policy. It endorsed the policy and activities of the Executive in relation to the international Communist movement, and decided upon measures to strengthen our activities in this field.

The meeting adopted a number of major policy decisions, reflected in the resolutions. After re-electing the General

Secretary and Chairman of the Party, it proceeded, by democratic means, to appoint a new Executive. The success of this Executive will depend on the effectiveness with which, backed by the united membership of the Party, it implements the decisions of the Augmented Central Committee Meeting.

TASKS OF THE PARTY

The main political resolution adopted by the meeting briefly sums up the South African situation as follows:—

> *Economic, political and social developments in South Africa confirm the analysis made in our Programme that the objective conditions exist for a national democratic revolution which will destroy South African imperialism, win the national liberation of the African and other oppressed peoples, and bring about profound democratic changes in line with the demands of the Freedom Charter.*
>
> *The economic growth which has taken place and which has raised living standards among the privileged white minority, has been achieved at the cost of the continued exploitation and impoverishment of the masses. It has intensified the decisive contradiction of South African society: that is, between the imperialist monopolies and the state of white domination on the one hand, and the oppressed masses of nor-white toilers on the other.*
>
> *The government is only able to maintain its rule by the constantly increasing terrorisation of the masses, a permanent state of emergency, a vast and growing army and police force, the suppression of all radical opposition and methods of ruthless despotism.*
>
> *South African imperialism seeks to safeguard its strategic positions by supporting oppressive regimes on its borders economically and militarily; by direct and indirect intervention in neighbouring states; by trying to extend its*

economic influence and eventually to ensure political and military domination over its neighbours.

In this situation the Party calls upon the working people of our country and especially the workers and oppressed African and non-white peoples to unite their ranks, to resist tyrannical white domination in every sphere and by every means, and to work for the conquest of power by the people.

Paying tribute to the heroism of the fighting men of Umkhonto we Sizwe, it pledges its unqualified support for the liberation army in its aims to recruit and train guerilla fighters, to spread the area of guerilla war to the heart of the Republic.

Believing firmly that the building of our Party as the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class is a vitally important contribution to the victory in the common struggle, the meeting instructs the CC to direct its main efforts to the reconstruction of the Party at home as an organisation of professional revolutionaries, closely in contact with the working class and peasantry and able to carry on the propaganda and organisation of the Party in the face of police terror.

The resolution continues by detailing the main lines of activity both legal and illegal which should be pursued by the Party and the entire revolutionary movement in various fields.

In accordance with the Party's Programme, which states that the main content of the national democratic revolution in South Africa is the national liberation of the African people, the Party's central efforts will be devoted as in the past to mobilising and uniting this majority of the population as the most oppressed and revolutionary driving force. At the same time, the resolution directs attention to the demands of work among various class and national entities, in particular

the workers and peasants, the two million Coloured people and half-million Indians, the youth and women.

Other resolutions adopted by the Meeting were the following:

INTERNATIONAL POLICY

The struggle for the liberation of South Africa is an important and inseparable part of the world-wide fight against imperialism being waged by the socialist countries, the revolutionary working class and allied movements, and by the oppressed peoples and their movements for national freedom and independence.

Each advance of these allied movements helps our cause and brings its victory closer; and so, too, our fight is of value and importance to all working people and anti-imperialists.

It is the consistent policy of the Party to work for the building of firmer ties of solidarity and friendship between all engaged in the common struggle, and in the first place of the comradely links of working class internationalism and common action among the vanguard detachments of the struggle: the Parties of the world Communist movement.

The Meeting endorses the general line of international policy of the Central Committee and its activities in the sphere of international relations. In particular it approves the Party's mandate to its delegation at the international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in June 1969, and our Party's action in signing the documents of this Conference. It directs the CC to work for the implementation of the policies contained in these documents.

AFRICA

The Meeting recognises and re-emphasises our Party's consistent and vital concern with developments in the African continent as a whole, and in particular with the developing anti-imperialist African Revolution, to win democracy, unity and rapid development towards socialism and against capitalism and reaction. In particular, the Meeting emphasises the need to extend Marxist-Leninist ideas and organisation all over the continent. It resolves to continue and intensify the work fruitfully conducted by our journal The African Communist for over ten years, and calls on all members to support and build the journal.

PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE AGAINST "UNHOLY ALLIANCE"

The Meeting recognises the fundamental unity of the anti-imperialist struggle in Southern Africa as a whole. The "Unholy Alliance" of Portuguese colonialism and the white supremacy regimes of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa represents imperialism's strongest base in Africa. The cornerstone and dominant partner of this alliance is the fascist Republic of South Africa, an instrument of international imperialism and at the same time the expression of aggressive, expansionist South African monopoly capitalism, which strives to extend and perpetuate neo-colonialist domination over Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana, threatens Zambia and Tanzania, and ultimately the independence of all African countries, and the peace and security of our continent and the world.

The interlocking interests and co-ordinated political, strategic and economic plans—exemplified in the Cabora Bassa scheme—face the peoples of Southern Africa with a

common enemy aiming to perpetuate and extend imperialism and white supremacy.

Our peoples of Southern Africa and their liberation movements—the ANC, ZAPU, SWAPO, MPLA, FRELIMO, PAIGC—have an urgent need and duty to build close ties of friendship and co-operation and to work towards a revolutionary unity of anti-imperialist action.

The close revolutionary alliance of the oppressed peoples of our area, enjoying the firm support of the independent African states, the socialist countries, and all anti-imperialist forces, will overthrow the colonialist and racist regimes. It will root out the remaining centres of colonialism, racialism and foreign domination in our continent, and open up a new era for Africa and for the world-wide fight against imperialism, for freedom, peace and socialism.

Our Party will devote its fullest energies towards the building of this revolutionary alliance.

NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

To the fraternal people of the neighbouring countries and their governments, the Party points out that our cause is a common one against a common enemy: South African imperialism. It calls upon them to render brotherly support to the South African freedom fighters, and to strengthen their own resistance, vigilance and preparedness, including military preparedness, against the enemy and his plans for penetration, espionage, sabotage and ultimately intervention and conquest.

We call for the unflinching support of the South African working people to the struggles of the neighbouring countries and their peoples to maintain and extend their independence.

We reiterate our unqualified demand for independence and self-determination for Namibia.

The Party expresses its most vigorous condemnation of the traitor Jonathan, the tool of South African imperialism and of the most reactionary forces in Lesotho. It calls for a widespread "Hands off Lesotho" campaign to be launched in South Africa and abroad. It hails the courage and patriotism of the Lesotho guerillas who need the whole-hearted support of the revolutionaries of South Africa.

We consider the building of the Botswana-Zambia road to be an essential step towards the breaking away of Botswana from the economic clutches and political pressures of the Republic. The people of South Africa indignantly reject any bullying intervention by the fascist government of S.A. to prevent the building of this road. We call upon the people and government of Botswana to resist such intervention by all means, and pledge the fullest support of the oppressed people of our country for such resistance.

The Meeting directs the Central Committee to work systematically to establish friendly relations with the brother peoples, the progressive leaders and the anti-apartheid governments of neighbouring territories.

ARAB COUNTRIES

The Meeting expresses its full support for the struggle of the fraternal Egyptian and other Arab nations against Israeli aggression, backed by U.S. imperialism. It demands the immediate withdrawal of all Israeli forces to the 1967 frontiers and the implementation of the Security Council resolution. It expresses full solidarity with the just struggle of the Arab peoples against aggression with the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and upholds the struggle of the Arab Palestinians to secure their legitimate rights.

THE WAR IN CAMBODIA

The Meeting angrily condemns the flagrant aggression launched by the Nixon administration against Cambodia, designed to support the CIA-engineered coup of Lon Nol and impose his reactionary puppet regime on the people. It regards this action as a further escalation of the U.S. war against Vietnam and an attempt to colonise the whole of Indo-China.

We express our warm solidarity with the fighting peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

VIETNAMESE WORKERS' PARTY

The Augmented Meeting of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party places on record its profound appreciation of the unforgettable example given to the workers and oppressed peoples of the whole world by our beloved comrade Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese Working People's Party.

By holding the fort against the most barbaric invasion of the most powerful imperialist power, your Party and your people have demonstrated for all oppressed peoples everywhere the truth of the idea of Marx and Lenin that the people are invincible.

Down with U.S. and international imperialism!

Long live free, united Vietnam!

HEROES OF OUR STRUGGLE

Our Party pays tribute to the undying memory of those of our members who, side by side with their comrades of the national liberation movement, have fallen on the fields of battle or in the torture chambers and on the gallows of the fascist murderers.

From this Meeting we send our warm comradely greetings to the members of our Central Committee and all others who are serving sentences in prison.
We pledge ourselves to work with redoubled devotion to hasten the day of liberation, to avenge the fallen heroes of our struggle and bring to justice the murderers and torturers.

THE PARTY PROGRAMME

The Meeting directs the CC to inaugurate a broad discussion within the Party with a view to producing a new document which will supplement and, where necessary, bring up to date the 1962 Programme of the Party.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE

A good deal of the discussion at the Meeting was focussed on the strategy and perspectives of armed struggle under South African conditions, on the basis of a document on this theme circulated by the executive and in the light of the combat experience already gained.

The Meeting adopted a resolution setting forth a number of guidelines on this question, pointing out that the armed struggle was not to be approached as a purely military question, but that operations must be planned to arouse and organise the masses. Any theory that localised operations of fulltime guerillas would in itself generate revolution was rejected; as also was the concept that organised armed activity should await complete political mobilisation and advanced nationwide organisation.

While the principal operations would be initiated in and based on rural areas, armed activities in the towns were indispensable 'corollary front'.

Emphasis was laid on the character of the fighting force as one of political cadres, subordinate to the political movement, and based on conviction and commitment rather than traditional bourgeois-type army discipline. Political and military leadership must be co-ordinated and eventually integrated.

ORGANISATION AND PROPAGANDA

The Augmented Central Committee Meeting also devoted much of its attention to the complex and exacting problems of organisation, propaganda and the maintenance of high standards of conduct and discipline in the present testing conditions. A series of practical decisions were taken on these subjects, as well as on the strengthening of the liberation alliance and the raising to a yet higher level the unity of Communist and non-Communist fighters for national liberation which has characterised the development of the movement in South Africa.

50th ANNIVERSARY

The Meeting, noting that July 1971 will mark the half centenary of the establishment of the Communist Party of South Africa, initiated a number of measures to mark this event and draw it to public attention in South Africa and throughout the world.

For fifty years the Communists of the Southernmost area of the African continent have upheld the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism and applied them in practice to the complex and exacting conditions facing the working people of our country.

The Augmented Meeting of the Central Committee testified to the enduring validity of those principles and to the tenacity and vitality of our Party. Its decisions and the resolute determination to translate them into practice will lay the basis for the advance and victory of the South African revolution.

SUDAN: The revolutionary task

J. GIRODOT

The May 1969 coup d'etat in the Sudan—there known as the May 25 Revolution—was unique in Africa not only for the power it gave to civilians at the moment of seizure of power, but also because the civilian forces it installed in government were of the Left.

Coups are known in Africa, Asia and Latin America as a method of change that changes little. Coups are essentially palace or political establishment revolutions, rarely social ones. They change the personnel of government; shift balances in governments and between political parties; arbitrate the claims of interest groups, whether in party or army—but in general they make few substantive changes in the class nature of political power and thus the direction and control of the economy. A government brought to power by putsch—a lightning action at the top in which the army plays the principal role—tends generally to the right. This is because government brought to power by such a sudden armed seizure—and not as the culmination and expression of a mass upsurge—bases itself on the social institutions which already exist: established economic interests, the bureaucracy, the army. Mass-based political consciousness or

organisation, acquired in prolonged and difficult revolutionary experience, creates its own institutions of state power and thus a distinct base for government committed to and able to carry out social change. This path to revolution is quite distinct from that of the coup d'etat. In Africa this road to revolution is already being taken a long way in the Portuguese territories fighting for liberation by guerrilla warfare in prolonged peoples' war.

In the Sudan power was seized from the top in a classic coup d'etat action initiated by a group of young professional army officers. In this sense the seizure of power was not unlike many in Africa which have changed the personnel of government but little else. Yet the Sudan has embarked upon policies which could radically transform it: a popular revolution is not yet complete by any means but it has clearly been initiated and is under way. This is seen not only in the unprecedented offer of regional autonomy to the Southern provinces as a solution to that national problem: but also in the deliberate policy of breaking the power of the reactionary political parties, and the search for new forms and institutions of democratic popular power; and the attempts to formulate an economic strategy of development which will break economic dependence. Clearly the potential of a revolutionary change can in part be gauged by the nature of the seizure of power and the forces that undertake it at that moment; what is additionally necessary is a scrutiny and an understanding of those forces allied with and released for action by the armed group and, thus, of the new basis of political power. Above all, one must ask: under what conditions can an army seizure of power build a social and political base for social and economic change. As the army alone, in the nature of professional armies, cannot do this, which forces will it enlist in the task?

There is in Africa a striking precedent of a coup d'etat becoming a lever for social revolution. This is Egypt, where in

1952 a Free Officer Movement—that was to serve as a major inspiration to a similarly named officer group in the Sudan—unseated a corrupt monarchy and palace government. Though it did not start off with a well articulated

policy of social change (this was provoked by events like Suez and the United States squeeze on the Aswan dam and so on) nevertheless it did substantially change the base of power in Egypt.

But over the years the extent of this social change has more and more been limited by the fact that although the power of the landed aristocracy and big bourgeoisie was broken, it has been replaced by a state apparatus dominated by the military and its allies, essentially middle class, in the administration. This group has not only amassed special rates of salary and privilege but is also exploiting opportunities for private capital accumulation and thus exercising its own controls on the development of social change. Steps forward have come as a decision of the state machine from above, with the power of the popular masses not only not institutionalised, but with these masses still at a considerable distance from the political power of decisions, despite the existence of the Arab Socialist Union (A.S.U.). In Egypt the emergence of this new military bureaucratic bourgeoisie, especially its power in the army, was almost fatal at the time of the June war, in the plot headed by Field Marshal Amer. It was after this crisis that the ASU was re-structured and characterised as the socialist vanguard and that the definition of peasant was changed to make the poor peasant by definition the social base of the political movement.

But the definition of those classes in whose interests the revolution is to be waged, though important, cannot be decisive; this depends on the *activation* of those classes in whose interests the change is to be, and without whose action and leading role there can be no lasting change. Because it is doubtful whether Egypt has yet resolved this problem—despite the May 30 Declaration—and especially bearing in mind its policy of, earlier, repression or, latterly, strict curbing of the Communist Left, (1) one might well say that the success of the Sudanese revolution will in large measure depend on the extent to which it has learned from Egypt's

experiences. This is not to disparage all aspects of the Egyptian achievement seen over the span of two decades—only to absorb the lessons of its history. It is also not to equate the two situation of Egypt and the Sudan for they are vastly different, not perhaps in the nature of the initial seizures of power in 1952 in Egypt and May 1969 in the Sudan, but certainly in their class and social structure, in historical background, in political experience. The use of the one example is only to highlight in the most general terms the differences and dangers in the other, for any real understanding of the unfolding and the potential of the Sudanese change must lie in a detailed examination of that specific situation.

THE SOUTHERN PROBLEM

The Sudan achieved independence in 1956. As everywhere in Africa there were certain legacies of colonial rule which distorted independence developments. One was the division between North and South. The South was separately administered, and closed to Northerners, and Southerners had been indoctrinated to believe that their future did not lie with the Arab North. For years the British colonial plan had been to join the three Southern provinces with Kenya and Uganda; this plan was reversed only in 1946. The southern provinces, in which just under one-third of the total population of 14 million of the Sudan now live, were grossly under-developed even by comparison with the likewise under-developed North. After half a century of colonial administration the South by independence had only one secondary school, a handful of secondary school leavers, five university graduates (educated in the North), a few junior administrative officers; no industry, trade, or doctors, engineers, or agriculturists. The Southern market fell to Northern traders and Southern

labour was cheapest in the Northern labour market where Southerners went in their thousands to seek work, for there were no employment openings in the South. When independence came business was in the hands of Northerners and the state apparatus and politics of the new state were dominated by Northerners.

Politics during independence was in the hands of two main parties, each identified with a major religious sect or *tariqa*. The rivalry was deeply rooted in history but had been skilfully manipulated by the colonial administration. On the one hand there was the Umma Party, built on the House of the Mahdi and the allegiance of the Ansar sect (and the private army of the Ansar); and on the other the National Unionist Party (which later joined with the Peoples' Democratic Party to form the Democratic Unionist Party) which was based on the allegiance of the Khatmiyya sect. In the years before independence the political party leaderships and their supporters had begun to acquire solidifying economic interests. The Umma Party leadership was drawn from the tribal heads of the Ansar mostly in the west of the Sudan, and from the private states of the White Nile where a class of landed proprietors had grown on whose cotton estates the peasants were bonded in semi-feudal relationships to the big proprietors. The Umma Party was thus in combination the government of this part of the countryside (for the tribal heads had been drawn into the indirect rule system as tax collector and local administrator), and at the same time, religious head and landed proprietor. In the years when the coveted pump scheme licences for the supply of water in the cotton-growing areas were due to expire, the Umma Party leadership issued a call for compensation—which was supported by World Bank advisers—which would have given this landed class the capital resources with which to invade commerce and the modern sector of the economy.

The National Unionist Party and its supporting sect the Khatmiyya drew its following principally from the Northern

Provinces and Kassala, among communities which first as settled farmers, then as village and later town traders, were the first to become integrated in the modern sector of the economy. With independence the NUP leadership became increasingly representative of an expanding commercial group that was growing in the shadow of foreign investment.

Independence politics in the hands of these parties was a tortuous round of governments and coalitions rising and faling as the principal parties used expediency and manoeuvre to capture office. In office their politics had little to distinguish one party from the other. Both parties used state power and state resources in much the same way: to enrich a small group of privileged; and the religious allegiance held by each party helped to mystify the process to the masses.

THE WORKING CLASS

Side by side with these politics of manipulation was growing the Sudan's working class and the trade union movement. The trade union movement was from its beginnings militant and politically-orientated. The Communist Party, founded in 1946, exerted a profound influence not only on the unions and the working class, but also on the students and the revolutionary intelligentsia, for the Sudan perhaps alone of African countries has a left-inclined and organised body of intellectuals, ranging from students to professional men, which has played a decisive part in mass revolutionary politics in all decisive episodes of the Sudan's political history. (2). There is another distinct stream of revolutionary action in the Sudan and this is in the forces of the cotton-growers and their union on the Gezira cotton scheme. These are small tenant-farmers but they are organised in a huge rural aggregate of production, and because Gezira is state-owned and cotton proceeds are shared between government and tenants, the tenants' economic demands naturally take the form of direct confrontation with government, this has made the

Gezira Tenants' Union a trade union of workers on the land but also a political action group.

In 1958 the rounds of political crisis between the parties was interrupted by a coup d'etat staged by the army commander General Abboud. This was the period of the United States push in the Middle East and Africa for support of the Eisenhower Doctrine, and in the Sudan there was fierce opposition to the acceptance of United States aid in return for political allegiance to this Plan. Strikes and the formation of joint action committees signified a strong swing to the Left in extra-parliamentary politics. A shaky political coalition was swept aside by the entry of the army and there began six years of strong-arm government during which the Communist Party and the trade unions were the principal victims of repression. This was a period of large export credits from Britain, of United States loans and World Bank financing, and a field day for the growing class of businessmen and contractors, agents and middlemen which thrived on the projects of foreign states and foreign firms. But it was also a period of growing public debt and, too, of the deepening of the crisis in the South which had by now reached the stage of open rebellion.

In 1955, on the eve of independence, there had been a mutiny of the Southern troops in the army's Equatoria Corps. The mutiny was precipitated by the Northern monopolisation of civil service and army jobs and promotion; and its outbreak was answered by stern government repression. This was intensified during the years of rule by the military junta during which there were attempts, among other measures, to impose the Moslem religion. Southerners started political organisations in exile and a guerilla movement, the Anyanya. By 1964 this movement was extensive in the South and its programme was secession.

The war in the South was draining an already over-burdened treasury, and it was also a deep source of grievance inside the army with the men in the field bitter against an

incompetent and corrupt command. It was the Southern crisis which finally brought opposition to the military junta to a head. The South needed a political, not a military, solution, it was argued. When a student protest against the conduct of the war was shot down in police fire in Khartoum, mass protests in the capital and the other towns of the Sudan as well as on the Gezira, accelerated to a general strike. Two weeks after the shooting the junta had fallen.

It is important to identify the forces responsible for the toppling of the military government, for there is a continuous political thread running between these forces and those that subsequently made the 1969 coup d'etat and came to government then. Simultaneously with the spread of political protest in the streets and the general strike, and the great processions headed by the organisations of the intellectuals, like the lawyers and the university teachers as well as the students (these bodies were organised in the Professionals' Front together with the trade unions and the Gezira tenants) there had been a crisis in the officer corps of the army. The junior officers of the independence generation of 1956 and ensuing years identified with the Trade Unions, the Communist Party and other formations of the Left. The Free Officer Movement itself dates back to the years immediately after independence and at this crucial moment of political upsurge a split in the officer corps precipitated by the political alignment of the young officers with the forces behind the general strike undermined the junta from within. This partnership, between young radical officers in the army, and the organised force of the Left was decisive in 1964.

But events immediately after the collapse of the Abboud[1] junta caused the young officers, rather than remain as armed caretakers of a government of radical forces, to withdraw from the political arena and return to barracks. The October government that followed (the insurrection that toppled the junta had been in October) was thus an amalgam of the civilian radical forces minus their counterparts in the junior

officer corps together with the rightwing political parties that had revived after the defeat of the junta, and together with the Moslem Brotherhood which in the years during which the political parties were banned had functioned freely in the schools and among the students and had built a base of support there. Inside the October government the Left forces pressed for legislative reform and a new electoral formula that would weight political power in favour of the towns and against the countryside which was in the tight control of the parties and the sects whose policies had paved the way for the military takeover. But when the armed Ansar of the Ummar Party laid siege to the capital to demand the resignation of the government, the October Cabinet fell. With its going went also an attempt to negotiate a solution of the Southern crisis. From 1964 to 1969 the Sudan was once again ruled by rightwing parties, and the country faced new rounds of political and economic crisis.

The greater part (82 per cent) of the Sudan's population lives by subsistence farming and has only a casual association with the market. The 10 Year Plan produced in 1961 and which formed the basis of economic policy of successive governments would, if completed, have advanced a mere 300,000 from traditional to modern farming methods. Government policy was consistently to strengthen the sector of private ownership and to weaken the role of the state sector. This attempt culminated in proposals, backed by the World Bank, to shut down Gezira, the state-controlled cotton-growing scheme. When it came to a new agricultural scheme, based on an irrigation project round the Roseires Dam, the World Bank insisted that government participation be reduced to the letting of land and water resources to private owners. The development budget was almost totally dependent on foreign loans and foreign conditions. Legislation on industrial investment and trading regulations gave priority to foreign investors and trading interests.

Meanwhile the Sudan's exchange reserves were exhausted, the balance of payments had reached an unprecedented low, the cost of living was soaring and the poor were being made to carry the country's financial burdens through heavy indirect taxing—all this while large sums were exported as profits or wasted or expropriated by a small corrupt group, and government showed itself incapable of tackling immediate or long term problems of poverty and under-development. Additionally the troubles in the South were proving more intransigent than ever, and in the North the political parties, in search of ways to entrench themselves, were devising an Islamic Constitution which would had made religious politics prevail over secular, and which threatened curbs on the organised Left by unseating Communist MPs and ordering the dissolution of the Communist Party.

THE 1969 COUP

Into this rapidly deteriorating political and economic situation—far from the triumphant October days—in which the forces of the Left were rapidly being driven on to the defensive and battles were having to be fought over the elementary rights of the unions and the Communist Party to organise, there broke the May 1969 coup d'etat of the Free Officer Movement headed by Colonel Jaafar Nimeiry.

In 1967 the Free Officers, especially well-organised among the armed forces in the South, had tried to bring pressure on the government for a changed approach to the Southern question and for reforms in the army. (3). The reform attempts led to repeated purges of the most militant officers. It was clear that this type of internal-army action brought about only victimisation and a frittering away of Free Officer resources.

By 1968 the Free Officers were discussing among themselves the capture of government power. Consulted in con-

fidential discussion, the Communist Party advised against any imminent action, arguing that the political situation was in a state of ebb not flow, and that the progressive movement should not risk offensive action before a mass base for it had been prepared. The dates for action were postponed several times, but finally the Free Officers staged their coup d'etat on May 25, 1969, the day that the Islamic constitution banning 'communism' and 'atheism' was due for its second reading in Parliament. The coup was made directly by the non-Communist members of the Free Officer leading group; they happened to be the commanders who had the key operational troops at their disposal. The plan was to place in power an October-type government, but this time backed by the striking force of the army, led by the Free Officers. So a National Revolutionary Council was installed of ten army officers together with a leading civilian of non-party left-wing inclination; and also a Cabinet of some two dozen members including several who had held Cabinet posts in the October government, a number of socialists and radical intellectuals including university academics, some who called themselves Arab Socialist or Nasserities, a sprinkling of unattached personalities, several Communists, and two Southerners (one of them a well-known member of the Communist Party who became head of the newly created Ministry of Southern Affairs).

To the Communist Party it was clear that the coup was strongly anti-imperialist in nature, and its immediate foreign policy declarations and immediate actions confirmed this. The problem was how stable and lasting the new government would prove, not only in relation to its composition and base of organised support, and its capacity to elaborate a long-term strategy for change, but also in relation to the grave dangers of counter-revolution in the country from the forces dispossessed by the coup.

The first anniversary of the May events was an enthusiastic and joyous occasion. Several crucial events had

taken place during the year. The first was the government announcement, fourteen days after it came to power, that it offered regional autonomy to the Southern provinces. The revolutionary government, said the declaration of the new policy, is 'confident and must face realities. It recognises the historical and cultural differences between the North and the South and firmly believes that the unity of our country must be built on these objective realities. The Southern people have the right to develop their respective cultures and traditions within a united socialist Sudan.' Ministry of Southern Affairs spokesmen are the first to stress that autonomy can make no sense without economic development, and that the restoration of the economy of the southern provinces and of village life there is a first priority. It is also recognised in many circles, if not yet officially proclaimed, that the restoration of full political life in the South will depend not on the issue of enlightened government decrees but above all on the growth of a mass but socialist-orientated movement in the South as part of the national commitment to the building of a new social system.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

A second momentous event in the first year of the new regime was the abortive but extremely dangerous attempt at counter-revolution in March of this year. The attempt coincided, significantly, with the visit by General Nimeiry, head of government, to the White Nile area which was the stronghold of the Umma Party and its supporting private army the Ansar. The visit was part of a nation-wide tour during which Nimeiry had made moving addresses to the rural poor, committing his government to social and economic policies for the alleviation of their condition. His visit to the White Nile would have coincided with proposals for the ultimate nationalisation of the private cotton estates but it had no

sooner begun than armed group of Ansar gathered and there was an attempt on Nimeiry's life. On Aba Island, the seat of Mahdism, a pitched battle was fought. The fighting also spread to the streets of Omdurman, near Khartoum, where large groups of heavily armed Ansar clashed with the police and the army had to be called in. Casualties were heavy on both sides, especially after the final battle for Aba Island in which the forces of the Ansar were routed.

The plot for counter-revolution, it was subsequently revealed as the result of the capture on Aba Island of documents and highly sophisticated weaponry, including anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons, had been carefully laid. Heart of the conspiracy were not only the Umma leaders but also the Moslem Brothers with their close contact with reactionary Arab states like Saudi Arabia. Aba Island was found to have a radio transmitter through which the anti-government attacks were to be synchronised. But the counter-revolution had been timed for somewhat later in the year, and the Aba Island offensive had jumped the gun before the plot was quite ripe.

In the event the revolutionary government, far from being over-thrown in the counter-revolution, was consolidated by it. The most dangerous right-wing forces had demobilised themselves.

But there is more to it than this. Clearing the way for social change in the Sudan means essentially not only immobilising or displacing the right wing parties, especially in their strongholds in the countryside but breaking the economic base of that support or, more positively still, winning the countryside to the support of the revolution by the active mobilisation of a peasantry that identifies the solutions to its problems of poverty and backwardness with the measures introduced by the new government. The government announcement after the defeat of the counter-revolution that the lands of Aba Island were to be redistributed to the peasants can be decisive in this region—especially if the se-

quel is not change by administrative measures alone, but by the peasantry rising to its feet.

Apart from the Southern policy and the dispossession of the rightwing parties—though the process is not yet complete—there is a third crucial test issue for the Sudanese revolution. This is the nature of the political base of the new government and the means whereby it will mobilise popular support. All political parties were declared illegal at the time of the May coup. The intention of government is to draft a Charter to delimit the goals of the revolution and the means of attaining socialism and, side by side, there is expected to be the announcement of plans for a form of political organisation to build and consolidate the revolution. The debate on this issue has been open and fairly widespread; it is also not yet fully resolved, either in the government or within the organised Left.

TWO PERSPECTIVES

The far poles of the argument were broadly represented in the two distinct sets of slogans carried on banners and shouted by the crowd at the huge open-air celebration of the Revolution in May this year. Some slogans extolled the virtue of the Arab nation and of Pan-Arabism—a group that has formed since May 1969 formulates its aims in terms of Nasserism and its slogans are for the Unity of the Nile Valley, Egypt and the Sudan for an Arab Revolution, and against Communism. Others greeted the unity of the working class and of revolutionary action.

Linked with these two distinct sets of perspectives is the underlying content of the debate about the nature of the Sudanese revolution and its leading force. One formulation sees the revolution proceeding under the leadership of the armed forces, for, it is argued, real power is rooted in the army, and the army should preserve national unity by stopping the development of contesting political tendencies,

for the open and unlimited expression of left politics—or so the argument went before the counter-revolution—is certain to cause a rightwing backlash. This group sees no need to define clearly the class forces in whose interests the revolution should develop and it regards the growth and strength of the Communist Party as an assertion of revolutionary tendencies which can only be divisive.

The counter-argument is, that the government backed by the Free Officers is an amalgam of forces with a revolutionary potential, but that it will be insecure without a strong mass base. This can essentially be built only by the Left, for it is only the organised working class and its allies in the militant peasantry and among revolutionary intellectuals which can provide the ideology and the means for building such a mass base.

There are many refinements to the discussion. What is the class base of the new government, and how precisely can this be defined? Is power in the hands of a section of the petit-bourgeoisie—for the army officer corps is considered principally petit-bourgeois in social origin—or is it in the hands of an alliance of the working people, including the petit-bourgeoisie and the revolutionary democrats?

Related to the different perspectives being canvassed are different prescriptions for the type of political organisation the government should create, or permit. One argument is for the creation of a new political organisation altogether, with all political formations dissolved in the interests of the new body, and with the Communists able to function within it, but as individuals. An opposite formulation is that the political movement should comprise the revolutionary organisations judged by their revolutionary capacity and positions: workers, peasants, intellectuals, the Free Officers, the Arab Socialists, the Baathists, the Communist Party each as an integral part of the bodies working within a revolutionary front.

The debate continues. Inside the Communist Party itself

several of the key issues have not yet been resolved. One issue is the exact forms in which the Communist party should best take its place in the general political mobilisation—with all views agreed that it must preserve its independent role. Other issues have arisen from the serious problem experienced by the Communist Party in striking a balance between a general theoretical reserve about the efficacy of the coup d'etat and a professional armed group as a means for revolutionary change, and yet the undoubted openings to the Left and the possibility of continuing revolutionary change that events and forces in the Sudan have made possible. (4)

The debate also continues inside the government. The Free Officer element in government which holds the physical means of power is an amalgam of several tendencies which has itself no clearly articulated ideology. The same might be said of the Cabinet. But the debate in general and within the organised Left is born of arid textual positions but of the juxtaposition of real forces in a country which has shown impressive revolutionary capacity, and at times when neatly defined 'conditions for revolutionary change' seemed missing.

The Cuban experience suggests that the nub of the problem of revolutionary experience lies not necessarily in the initial programme of the revolution but in its ability to resolve in practice the question of state power, at the time at which social change has to be pushed through if the old structures are not to force a reversal to the old political forms. The coup d'etat of May 1969 shifted political power in the Sudan. The nationalisations announced at the time of the regime's first anniversay will help to weaken those groups organically linked with foreign firms, foreign financing and foreign control. To be meaningful and lasting in terms of a real shift of economic power, the revolution will have to make structural changes in the economy, to divest vested

groups of their control and, most difficult and far-reaching of all, mobilise the population, not least the peasantry, to release the productive resources of the people. In all these issues the resolution of the debate about the leading force of the revolution and its mass political base will be decisive.

Notes

1.
See for instance Anouar Abdel-Malek '*Egypt: Military Society. The Army Regime, the Left and Social Change under Nasser* (Random House, 1968): 'It is impossible to initiate a socialist revolution and to build a popular state in the absence of socialists, without a mobilisation of the popular masses rural and urban, and the revolutionary intelligentsia: certainly not by relying on a political apparatus committed to a fight against the Left, and by that fact open to all forms of penetration.'
(Preface xxxiii)

2.
This is shown, apart from the evidence of the intellectuals in action given in this article, by the fact that while the Communist Party vote in the countryside is insignificant, the Party won one quarter of the votes in the towns in recent elections, and held 11 of the 15 special seats in the graduates' (post-secondary school) constituencies.

3.
For instance, a Free Officer leaflet issued in 1966 had said 'The Battle in the South is against imperialism... We should admit that the Southerners have a problem... They suffer from racial and class oppression... The real problem of the South is not at Juba or Torit (Southern towns, *ED.*) but in Khartoum.'

4.
A development flowing directly out of this and related issues was the deportation to Egypt of the Communist Party general secretary Abdel-Khalek Mahgoub.

Official government statements claimed that the action was directed against him personally, and because of his activity in 'splitting the armed forces,' and not against the Communist Party as such. This the Party rejected. It analysed the action—which took place soon after the defeat of the counter-revolution, when new heights of unity were achieved between the armed forces and the urban masses—as an attempt among the right-wing official and unofficial circles and in the army to undermine this alliance and limit the revolution within the framework of a reformist military operation. The government subsequently brought Comrade Abdel-Khalek back to the Sudan, where he is now back in the leadership of the Party.

THE COMINTERN AND AFRICA

F. MELI

"One cannot remain a detached scholar while Negroes are being lynched"—Du Bois.

With the emergence of independent African states, the rise of the Afro-American rebellion, the strengthening of the international working-class movement and the development of the socialist states (which have a strong anti-colonial and anti-racial accent) the imperialists are forced to change their attitudes and actions towards the people of African descent. The days when the black man was relegated to the outskirts of human and world civilisation, depicted as a jester and entertainer (of the whites), as a bloodthirsty heathen or a servile convert or an illiterate menial are coming to a close. This changed approach is in line with the convergence theory which is propounded by the "friends of Africa in the West". These "friends" are against "primitive anti-communism". They fight against *open* hostility towards the national liberation movements. Their tactic is simple: to "erode" the national liberation movements "from within". (1) This they do with the active participation of the right-wingers within the national liberation movements—the actual "eroders". To elaborate this point we will let Ndabaningi Sithole, the Rhodesian African nationalist, speak for himself. In his book published 2 years after Ghana became independent, he rejects communism because to him it symbolises "foreign domination" and a "foreign ideology". One wonders

whether the holders of such theories are aware of the fact that "Communism" was also introduced into Russia "from outside" by Plechanov. The thesis of "foreign ideology" is not convincing when one takes into account the fact that the ideas of "Egalite, Fraternite, Liberte" which spread from France in the 18th Century inspired many a revolution including the Haitian under Toussaint L'Ouverture and his "black Jacobins".

Sithole goes on to say (apparently claiming to speak in the name of all Africans):

"To the African—educated and uneducated—the present European powers are no different from Russia. They are all foreign powers. Russians are just as white as the French, Belgians, British or any other European nationalities. They are just as ambitious". (2)

Then he sighs with relief:

"....this is why we believe that if the African people ceased to be treated like strangers in the land of their birth, a genuine understanding between black and white would develop and this in turn would strengthen the anti-communist forces". (3)

The anti-white racialism of Ndabaningi Sithole has nothing in common with African nationalism which is supposed to be the topic in discussion—as the title of the book suggests. He is only exploiting the sincere sentiments of the oppressed and exploited masses for his own ends.

The function of the convergence theory as applied to African conditions can be summarised as follows:

1. The black man's achievements in culture and history have to be safely accommodated within and systematically assimilated by the bourgeois system with the aim of win-

ning the black "elite" and sponsoring black capitalism under the patronage of white capitalism.

2. The fact that the capitalists view "Black Studies" as a money-making business is obvious. What is not so obvious perhaps is the fact that the "friends of Africa in the West" want to take the steam out of the black rebellion both in Africa and the Americas. That is to say "Black Studies" should be no threat to their system.

3. The politicians of the imperialist countries, with the aid of their specialists on Africa, are busy strengthening reactionary forces within the national liberation movements and mobilising them against the progressive and patriotic freedom fighters and African statesmen. By so doing they are simultaneously driving a wedge between the African revolutionaries and their natural allies: the socialist countries.

4. It would be wrong to think that the African reactionaries are passive in this "genuine understanding between black and white" (Sithole). They have to declare and announce time and again their loyalty to and a cowardly compromise with imperialism and its representatives in Africa—the white racialists. This they achieve through anti-communism and by isolating and discrediting the revolutionary African freedom fighters.

The study of nationalism and communism in Africa is important not only for historians and practical politicians but also for natural scientists, doctors and technicians. The scientific and technical revolution, which is affecting not only Europe and America but also the tricontinental world, stands contrary to antiquated ideas whose origins are either in the tribal or feudal society. The development of science and its

application can be mastered properly and used productively only by hands and brains which are not only scientifically and technically trained but also equipped with a modern and progressive way of thinking which reflects true human progress in this epoch of transition to socialism.

The bourgeois presentation of the problem of nationalism and communism suffers from a fundamental weakness, namely that of portraying communism (in this context the Comintern) as an "arm of Moscow". They fail to analyse the internal dynamic and upward development of both the national liberatory and communist movements. In fact this internal dynamic development determines the depth and extent of mutual co-operation on a sound and realistic basis.

The problems of mutual relationship between the Comintern and African revolutionaries still need to be studied by African revolutionaries from the standpoint of historical materialism and told to the African people. This article can only represent an attempt in this direction; it is by no means the final answer.

AFRICAN NATIONALISM:

To understand African nationalism or rather Pan Africanism properly we need to have two factors in mind. Firstly the revolutionary influence of the October Revolution, whose world-changing effects and influence can be understood if one acknowledges the fact that its greatness lies in the greatness of the problems it solved in the interest of the masses. We have in mind not only the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of socialism but also the emancipation of the 33 million people who were formerly enslaved in this "prison of nations". Imperialism was shaken to its very roots. The October Revolution led to the most revolutionary epoch in human history, the epoch we are living in. Small wonder that in the year 1919—the year in which the Comintern was

formed—Afro-Americans and Africans met in Paris to inaugurate what was later to become known as the Pan-African movement. In short black nationalism, thanks to the "ten days that shook the world".

Secondly—though of primary importance—are the historical factors and socio-economic conditions of the people of African descent. Speaking about the historical background of the people of African descent one is forced to trace it back to colonialism and imperialism with their shameful offspring—the slave-trade, slavery, social degradation, racial discrimination and inequality.

The idea of uniting black people all over the world resulted from the fact that no race has suffered so many insults to its human dignity and such humiliation under capitalism as the black man.(4) These indignities resulted in a strong racial consciousness and a feeling of togetherness. Jose Luciano Franco, the Cuban historian, traces the beginnings of this unity back to anti-slavery uprisings in the "New World".(5) He points to the "intimate relation" that existed between the slave revolts in the "New World" and the events in what later became Dahomey, Nigeria etc.

Pan-Africanism (in the modern form) started as an ideology of black intellectuals in the Americas. The Afro-Americans and the Afro-West Indians had better educational qualifications and better social chances than the Africans, hence this movement started in this corner of the black world. Cutting a long story short, the aim of Pan Africanism was not the unity of the black people as a race but their social and political emancipation. This point is of fundamental importance because the African Institute in Pretoria propounds a false theory that Pan Africanism led by Du Bois and Padmore was in essence an acceptance of "racial loyalty" ("Sy lojaliteit is derhalwe fundementeel 'n rasselojaliteit").(6)

It would be wrong to maintain that in the pre-Second World War period Pan Africanism was solely an American

and West Indian affair. There were quite a number of African Pan Africanists. Let us take South Africa as an example. The South African black intellectuals who studied abroad were influenced by Pan African ideas. Indeed the African National Congress of South Africa, as the first African organisation, officially declared Pan Africanism as its creed in its programme, the then provisional constitution, of 1919. Even before that, African radicals like Seme were already "Pan Africanists". To illustrate this we quote from the speech he delivered when he won the first prize for the Curtis Medal Orations at Columbia University on April 5th, 1906. Although he was then still a student this speech is important because Seme later became a co-founder of the A.N.C. and one of its leading figures. He spoke on "The Regeneration of Africa". He starts:(7)

"I am an African, and I set my pride in my race over against a hostile public opinion...Oh, for that historian who, with the open pen of truth, will bring to Africa's claim the strength of written proof. He will tell of a race whose onward tide was often swelled with tears, but in whose heart bondage has not quenched the fire of former years. He will write that in these later days when Earth's noble ones are named, she has a roll of honour too, of whom she is not ashamed...From these four corners of the earth Africa's sons, who have been proved through fire and sword, are marching to the future's golden door bearing the records of deeds and valour done..."

He went on:

"From these heights of the twentieth century I again ask you to cast your eyes south of the Desert of Sahara...if you would go with me to Bechuanaland, face their Council of Headmen and ask what motives caused them recently to decree so emphatically that alcoholic drinks shall not enter

their country—visit their king, Khama, ask for what cause he leaves the gold and ivory palace to wander daily from village to village through all his kingdom without a guard or any decoration of his rank—a preacher of industry and education, an apostle of the new order of things ...Oh, if you could read the letters that come to us from Zululand—you, too, would be convinced that the elevation of the African race is evidently a part of the new order of things that belong to this new and powerful period...The basic factor which assures their regeneration resides in the awakened race consciousness...

"The African people, although not a strictly homogeneous race, possess a common fundamental sentiment which is everywhere manifest, crystallising itself into one common controlling idea. Conflicts and strife are rapidly disappearing before the fusing force of this enlightened perception of the intertribal relation, which relation should subsist among a people with a common destiny."

Though Seme uses terms like "common fundamental sentiment", "common controlling idea", "fusing force of intertribal relation" it is clear to everyone that he is talking the language of Pan Africanism.

In spite of all its revolutionary and dynamic potentialities, Pan Africanism suffered from the weakness of all "pan-ideologies", namely that of concealing antagonistic social class contradictions by temporary existing political interest. To put this positively, Pan Africanism was the ideology that corresponded to the interests of almost all classes and social strata.

In the thirties we find a new element in Pan Africanist thinking: the Marxist element. V.P. Thompson, the Nigerian author, points out that the main trends in Pan Africanism at this time were: Ghandian and Marxist. He writes that Marxism "was a product acquired from a variety of sources

and was very prominent in the polemical works of many African leaders".(8)

Let us now examine this "variety of sources".

THE COMINTERN AND AFRICAN REVOLUTIONARIES

The attitude of the Comintern towards the rising tide of African nationalism reflects the anti-colonial stand of its founder and leader, Lenin. He demanded a realistic approach towards the national question which, in the epoch of imperialism, coincided (or rather became identical) with the colonial question. In 1919 he told the communists of the East:

> *"In this respect you are confronted with the task which has not previously confronted the communists of the world: relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, you must adapt yourselves to specific conditions such as do not exist in the European countries; you must be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the task is to wage a struggle against medieval survivals and not against capitalism... You must find specific forms for this alliance of the foremost proletarians of the world with the labouring and exploited masses of the East whose conditions are in many cases medieval".(9)*

The Comintern was faced with the task of applying these Leninist principles concretely to African conditions. From the very outset, in its "Conditions for Affiliation", the Comintern stated categorically that one of its duties was to support every liberation movement not only in words but also in deeds. That explains why the "Negro Question" was discussed in the Third Congress of the Comintern 1921. The Fourth Congress in 1922 decided to elect a commission to deal with the problems affecting the people of African descent. This commission based itself on the Theses on the "National and Colonial Question" which were prepared by

Lenin for the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920.

The Commission reported that the Comintern:

(a) recognises the necessity of supporting all Negro movements which are either directed at undermining capitalism or aim at weakening it or making its development in the West Indies, Africa and America impossible.
(b) demands equal wages, political and social rights for the workers of African descent
(c) undertakes to force the Trade Unions to allow black workers to join or affiliate to the white trade unions. If this proves to be impossible, the resolution stated, the Comintern urges the Negroes to form their own trade unions so as to form a united front by forcing the white workers to allow their affiliation
(d) resolves to call a congress of all Negroes.(10)

This resolution of the Comintern stood in contradistinction to and was a negation of the utopian black racialistic call of Marcus Garvey that the Afro-Americans should "go back" to Africa. What Garvey advocated was the colonisation of Africa by the aspiring American black capitalists. His advocacy of "black Rockefellers" added insult to injury.

At the same time the approach of the Comintern differed from that of the Pan-Africanists. Whereas the Pan-Africanists demanded a system of collective and international security to defend the interests of the Africans,(11) the Comintern appealed to the black masses to organise themselves and fight for their freedom. This was followed by action. The Comintern sent its activists—they went to Africa as tourists—whose aim was to study the conditions on the spot and if possible help in organising the African masses against colonial tyranny. Jacob Blumkin travelled to "East Africa" in the early twenties and later on a Hamburg communist Spiess followed him.(12) It must be stated that the international

working class movement already had experience in this field as the example of George Hardy who travelled widely as early as 1916 in the Congo, East Africa and later South Africa testifies.(13)

Though there was little success in these activities—because of colonial tyranny—they are historically significant for two reasons. They are:

1. the beginning of the contacts between the international working class and the African people. In other words an attempt to combine Marxism with African resistance in countries with no Communist Parties.

2. These activities of the Comintern in the early twenties disprove the thesis propounded by Geiss.(14) He maintains that the Comintern started having concern about Africa between 1927 and 1934. He makes the mistake of identifying the Comintern's activity with Padmore's.

The Red International Labour Unions (R.I.L.U.) formed a subsection called the "International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers" in 1926. The chairman was the Afro-American communist James Ford (he became a candidate for U.S. Vice-Presidency in 1928). In 1928 the Sierra Leonese Mechanic's Union joined the R.I.L.U.. After the Sixth Congress of the Comintern J. Ford and G. Padmore made many contacts with African revolutionaries in Africa and abroad.

In conjunction with the C.P. of Germany the "Negro Committee" organised the "International Congress of Negro Workers" in Hamburg in 1930 (the Labour Party had banned it in England). The African continent was represented by Macaulay (Liberia), Small (Gambia), Kouyate (Senegal), Wallace-Johnson (Sierra Leone) and "a white man from South Africa"—to quote the Imprecorr. (15) The executive which was elected comprised the following African

members:
Macaulay (Liberia), Small (Gambia), Kouyate (Senegal), Thuku (Kenya) and Nzula (South Africa).

The "Negro Committee" published a monthly journal in English "The Negro Worker" and in French "Le Cris des Negre" which became a mouthpiece of the oppressed and fighting black people. "The Committee" printed in 1930/31 about 25 publications on the conditions of the people of African descent in Africa, America and the West Indies. By way of interest the frontspiece of the journal "The Negro Worker" could be seen later in Ghana's "Voice of Africa".

The other form of contact with the African revolutionaries was through the international mass organisations e.g. The League Against Imperialism. The inaugural conference was held in Brussels in 1927 and there were four delegates from Africa—J. Gumede (ANC South Africa), J. La Guma (ANC South Africa), Colraine (SATUC-South Africa) and Lamine Senghor (Sudan—today Mali). Senghor represented the West African revolutionaries in France who were members of the "Comite' de Defense de la Race Negre" (C.D.R.N).(16) Senghor who proved to be the most dynamic of the African delegates said in his speech:

"The Negroes have slept too long. But beware, he who has slept enough and wakes, will not sleep again".(17)

Senghor was elected to the executive of the "Anti-Imperialist League". In the Second Congress of the League in Frankfurt (1929) we also come across the name of J. Kenyatta from the "Kikuyu Central Association of Kenya".

The Comintern also had contacts with the African students abroad e.g. Bridgeman and W.A.S.U. In Berlin known figures of the C. P. of Germany e.g. Hermann Duncker lectured in summer schools which were arranged for colonial students in Oxford and other places of learning abroad. These were some of the ways in which the Comintern worked in trying to

help the African liberation movement.

At this juncture it is necessary to refer to the history of the Communist Party of South Africa. This was not only an African organisation but —like all other Parties—also a section of the Comintern. Some of its members e.g. Andrews had served on the Comintern's executive. Since its formation in 1921 its foremost duties were:

(a) basing itself on the principles of the Comintern to work out a strategy that would correspond to South African conditions
(b) to orientate the struggle in South Africa against racism and its social roots—capitalism
(c) to work out a Leninist approach to the national question.

Even before its formation the forerunner of the Party, the International Socialist League, assessed the October Revolution not only as a source of inspiration but also as a source of theoretical generalisation, though some lessons drawn from it were not always correct e.g. the orientation towards the dictatorship of the proletariat in South Africa as the immediate goal. The formation of the C.P. of South Africa meant the beginnings of a break with the traditional paternalistic attitude of the white workers towards the "non-whites". The Party was responsible for a gradual orientation towards the non-white workers as the main driving force in South Africa. Its tactic was that it should remain a small and select body of trained revolutionaries working through a larger mass body. This concept Lenin had developed in his book written for the young communist parties—"Left-Wing Communism an Infantile Disorder". This approach has nothing in common with the so-called "communist infiltration", which is a thesis aimed at evoking an impression that communists use other organisation for their own ends, that is—the communists have other interests.

As far back as 1847 Marx and Engels wrote in their "Communist Manifesto" that the communists have no interests separate and apart from the working class. They are distinguished from other parties by two factors:

(a) in the national struggles of the proletarians of different countries, they point out and bring to the front the commmon interests of the proletariat, independently of all nationality.

(b) in the various stages of the development of the struggle they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

The C.P.S.A. built schools for the African workers so as to counteract illiteracy and also to propagate its ideology. It strengthened the trade union movement and its members played an important role in the I.C.U. It injected and instilled militancy in the South African resistance movement.

OBJECTIVE DIFFICULTIES AND SUBJECTIVE WEAKNESSES

Colonialism committed many crimes in Africa. Among these one can mention for instance the destruction of great cultures and ancient civilizations. This was accompanied by mental enslavement of the colonially and racially discriminated people of African descent. In their search for raw materials, markets and cheap labour the colonialists deformed the mode of production in Africa and introduced a sickly capitalism which co-existed with pre-capitalist formations. This hindered the development of modern classes—hence the weakness of the national liberation movements and working class organisations. The brutal suppression of these movements by the colonialists made things even more difficult. These were some of the objective difficulties which faced the Comintern in Tropical Africa.

Naturally the above can only explain the relative weakness of the African emancipation movements, not the cause of conflicts between African rebels and the Comintern. One of these causes was a lack of an internationalist spirit and outlook amongst some black radicals. This is confirmed by Richard Wright in his "Foreword" to Padmore's "Pan-Africanism or Communism". He says about Padmore:

> *"I have seen him labour day in and day out, to the exclusion of all other interests upon one thing that really matters to him: freedom for black people."* (18)

Then he continues to reveal "secrets"—as he says

> *"The Negro, even when embracing Communism or Western Democracy, is not supporting ideologies; he is seeking to use instruments(instruments owned and controlled by men of other races!) for his own ends".*

This is now down-right petty-bourgeois opportunism. In fact the very question posed by Padmore—"Pan-Africanism or Communism"—is a theoretical justification of his—and he is not alone—renegade opportunistic activities. Padmore knew better than anybody else that Pan-Africanism cannot be an alternative to Communism since the former expresses an *anti-colonial nationalism* and the latter is a *socio-economic formation.* How could one portray the two as opposites when they fought against the same enemy? Isn't Pan-Africanism in a way a by-product of Communism? This point we tried to show at the beginning of this article.

These problems were not only limited to the African countries without Communist Parties—South Africa was also affected. During the period when all the Communist Parties were faced with the problems of combining Marxism with the working class and in countries like South Africa of solving the national question (which co-incided with the racial

question) it was only natural that the young Communist Party of South Africa should be faced with seemingly impossible questions. There was the question of a united front between black and white workers. Three factors seem to have stood in the way:

(a) The anti-African racialism of the white workers. They were (and are still) profiting from racial oppression of Africans hence they adopted this "nationalistic" attitude.
(b) The propaganda of the government and the church against what they called Bolshevism influenced some reformistic leaders in the trade unions and liberation movement.
(c) The influence of the reactionary leaders of "International" Social-Democracy and their trade unions, more especially the British section, was strong in South Africa.

What about the ANC/CP relation? According to H. J. and R.E. Simons the situation in the 20's was as follows:

"The African National Congress had plenty of followers but no theory of social change. The Communists had plenty of theory but few followers and tended to blame Congress for their weakness".(19).

The explanation we have for such a state of affairs is the fact that the Communist Party leadership was predominantly white in a country where the majority of the people are black. On the other hand the ANC leadership was composed of intellectuals, business men, ministers of religion and tribal chiefs. This factor is important because it helps in understanding the problem of "The Black Republic". To us it seems the important criterion in this question is the objective interests of the Comintern (and naturally its South African section) and those of the *masses* of the South African people. The Comintern was interested in "bolshevising" the party,

that is making it a mass party. This was also in the interests of the masses of the South African people. *The actual problem was that socialism and the masses in South Africa were two different things at this time.* This fact was not understood by the South African delegation in Moscow at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928. The slogan of "Black Republic" actually gave expression to a process which was already taking place: namely the transition from the early beginnings of dependence on white workers for revolutionary action to dependence on the African majority, the most exploited section of the society.

These problems we mention because before solving them one has to know them. Some of them are still unsolved e.g. absence of Communist Parties in Tropical Africa. The danger of "history repeating itself"—to use a cliche—is always there.

CONCLUSION:

The international solidarity of the black people in the 20th century is one of the greatest contributions to the struggle against racism and colonialism. From the early beginnings of Sylvester Williams and Du Bois up to the revolutionary impatience of Frantz Fanon or the cool analysis of Alpheus Hunton the American and Caribbean black revolutionaries have contributed tremendously to the African liberation struggle. In fact our independence is theirs. This black solidarity could only be meaningful to the black masses if—in conjunction with and with the support of the revolutionary working-class—it was directed against the social roots of racism and colonialism: capitalism and imperialism. *Therein lies the historical merit of the Comintern on this question.* It proved theoretically and practically that the historical place of the African liberatory movement in the 20th century lies in co-operation—if not in fusion—with the revolutionary international working class and countries of socialism (at that

time it was still only the Soviet Union).

The assistance the Comintern rendered to African radicals still awaits scholarly research by African revolutionaries. Far from being philanthropic, this was of *mutual benefit* because by assisting the African rebels the Comintern was actually promoting its own struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racialism. The Comintern introduced a new form of alliance in the history of our continent, namely that between the communists and non-communists. This enabled both the Comintern and African revolutionaries to break the vicious colonial encirclement and open new horizons for the common struggle against the common enemy.

The United States and South African sections of the Comintern, the only ones with large black communities, have fought heroically against racism and for the dignity of the black man. Out of these despised and "uncivilized" people they have produced internationally recognised revolutionaires and theoreticians. Henry Winston, Paul Robeson, J. B. Marks and Moses Kotane are only a few examples. The historical significance of these heroes is no smaller than that of revolutionaries like Lincoln, Reed, Shaka or Andrews.

In 1970, the centenary year of Lenin's birth, it is necessary to remind the African revolutionaries of the last words of Dr. Du Bois. Speaking on African nationalism, this father of Pan-Africanism remarked that it will have to undergo a dialectical negation of itself into a new and higher quality which is proletarian internationalism. He said:

> *"The Soviet Union should be proud and rightly so, that the great Lenin, when he created the first socialist state of the world did not only care for the welfare of Europeans and Asians but also of the African people.....*
>
> *"I am convinced that the teachings of Lenin must be a guiding principle for the people of the African continent in their struggle against the criminal secret conspiracy of the United States, England, Federal Republic of Germany, France and Belgium.....*

"I think that nowadays it is important more than ever before that the peoples of Africa are made acquainted with Lenin's teachings on colonialism and imperialism. Translated in the vernacular languages Lenin's books would serve as a lighthouse on the way to a bright future of history. They would be a powerful and effective monument for the great genius of mankind on the soil of that continent, which today urgently needs the wise advice of Vladimir Lenin".(20)

Footnotes

The quotations from German sources are translated or re-translated into English by the author.

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"A proletarian state is necessary if the abolition of capitalism and the transition to socialism are to be insured against counterrevolution and reversal by the exploiting classes."

"Comrade Lenin Cleans the Unclean from the Face of the Earth" — Poster by M. Cheremnykh and V. Deni. From Sputnik

AFRICA'S IMPACT ON BLACK AMERICA

Charlene Mitchell and Michael Myerson

When the news reached the United States in early 1961 that Patrice Lumumba had been assassinated, Black people mobilized from Boston to Los Angeles in mass protest. At the United Nations, demonstrations of solidarity with their Congolese brothers erupted in violence and shook that international body to its foundations. Never before and not yet since have Black Americans mobilized in such numbers over an international issue.

That week was only a culmination of, and a new level attained in, a process of growing anti-imperialist consciousness among U.S. Blacks. It is hardly coincidental that the new character of the Black liberation movement in the U.S. developed simultaneously with the political independence of most of Africa. The admittance to the United Nations of Ghana, and some 20 other African nations soon thereafter, had great impact on Black America. There was new recognition that Africa was a force in the world. The gaining of independence in Africa was seen as providing new possibilities for help to the freedom movement of the United States.

The movement here acquired a new character in its view of Africa. The Garvey back-to-Africa influence waned as new respect grew for Africa. This might at first appear ironic, but the irony is only illusory because the new respect for Africa brought understanding here that struggle was possible, that victories could be won on this side of the Atlantic. U.S. Blacks who wanted to go to Africa now went not to live but

to help build those new nations. In the cities and universities of the United States, real ties developed for the first time between U.S. Blacks and Africans residing or studying in this country. (In one of those tragic-comic developments so common to the racist pathology of the United States, a ruling was made in the Southern states that Africans in native dress could be treated as equals, thus unwittingly providing new stimulus to Black Americans to emulate their African brothers.)

In fact, all Black people in the U.S. have never been completely isolated from Africa, but the relationship of Black brothers and sisters in this country to their African past received a tremendous impulse with the political independence of African nations.

U.S. IMPERIALISM

For several years prior to the Lumumba demonstrations, American blacks had been affected by the African independence struggle. The rising of the Mau Mau in Kenya was a source of great pride here in a people taking up arms for their freedom, and a whole generation of black babies in the U.S. was named Jomo or Kenyatta. In 1959, the Youth March on Washington featured Tom Mboya, whose militant speech on the occasion received the greatest response from young Blacks in attendance.

Africa's political independence had much to do with the rising in the U.S. of a progressive black nationalism. One of the first things Elijah Muhammed did when his Nation of Islam movement began to grow was to relate the struggle here to the emerging Arab and African nations. Malcolm X. Shabazz, then still the leading public spokesman for the Muslims, said that Black people in the U.S. have to know their African heritage because of the direct link; that what happens to Africa has a direct bearing on what happens to Blacks here.

Another new facet to the struggle in the U.S. was an awareness of the colonial ties of U.S. imperialism. Of course U.S. Blacks knew of the rape of Africa and the slave trade, but not of U.S. imperialist schemes in modern Africa. For many Black people, most particularly the radical youth, U.S. operations in the Congo were most instructive in this respect.

By 1964, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), then the most advanced force of the Black freedom movement, began sending representatives to tour the new nations of Africa and to consult with their leadership. It is worth noting that James Foreman, SNCC's executive director and its organizational genius since its inception, became its International Affairs director. On returning from his 1967 visit to Zambia, Foreman played a major role in relating to Blacks in the U.S. the struggle of South Africa. He campaigned for support by the movement here for the developing ANC-ZAPU struggle in Zimbabwe; SNCC even called for U.S. Black participation in the armed struggle should it be requested by the African brothers. And when former SNCC leader Julian Bond was denied his seat in the state legislature of Georgia, some dozen or so African delegations paid him tribute at the United Nations. His own country's UN delegation, shamefully, did not. Malcolm was also visiting Africa in those days, and U.S. imperialism attached enough importance to these developments to send James Farmer, now an official in the Nixon Administration, to Africa to follow Malcolm. .

THE ROLE OF DUBOIS

The new consciousness among U.S. Blacks of the role of Africa was not without its forebears. The pioneering work for decades by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois resulted in the founding of the Council of African Affairs over two decades ago. With Dr. DuBois, Alphaeus Hunton and Paul Robeson as its mainstays, the Council was one of the first U.S. organizations,

which included numbers of Black Americans, in solidarity with Africa. The concept of Pan-Africanism taught by DuBois, Hunton and Robeson in those days should not be confused with some of the reactionary ideas fostered today under the same name. They saw a united African continent based on a unified economic entity. DuBois never negated the role of individual African nations. Rather, he thought that, once politically independent, if these nations would struggle for the advancement of the whole continent and not just for narrow national interests, both the continent and the individual nations would be stronger. DuBois and Hunton felt that Ghana was extremely significant; certainly they didn't think that Ghana should delay its independence. Their conception of Pan-Africanism laid the ideological basis for the founding of the OAU, notwithstanding some later contrary developments in that organization.

And it was based on the OAU that Malcolm formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity, following his break with Elijah Muhammed. Malcolm felt very definitely that Blacks who saw themselves as a minority in the United States were viewing the liberation struggle too narrowly; that people of color here are part of a world majority and should see the liberation struggle as international, drawing strength from the solidarity of people elsewhere, in the first instance from Africa.

The overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah a year after the assassination of Malcolm had a serious effect on many Black Americans. It was now much easier to explain and understand the role of neo-colonialism, especially that of U.S. imperialism. Simultaneously, there began a creeping knowledge of the role of armed struggle in the countries which hadn't yet achieved independence.

NEO-COLONIALISM

Still, much ignorance remains. While black Americans are aware of apartheid and fascism in South Africa, few know of

the struggles to combat that fascism. Few know of the road of armed struggles declared by ANC, ZAPU and SWAPO in Southern Africa, or of PAIGC, MPLA and Frelimo in the Portuguese colonies.

Confusion about the African struggle reached new heights during the Biafra conflict. The response in the U.S. among Blacks demonstrated an inability at present to truly understand the intrigues of neo-colonialism. Of course this confusion was not limited to the Black movement. Some progressive whites, activists in the movement against U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina, participated in fund-raising and support committees for Biafra. But because of a lack of knowledge and information of the role imperialism was playing, the question of self-determination was misunderstood even among the majority of aware Blacks, who exhibited a pro-Biafra sentiment. CIA and USIA both played their usual roles in exacerbating the confusion, and the Peace Corps continued not only to undermine the African struggle but to dim the consciousness of Americans as to the role of U.S. imperialism in Africa.

And certainly not all the influences from Africa on the US movement have been positive. The role played by certain African countries which maintain strong ties with U.S. imperialism serves to blunt anti-imperialist consciousness among Black Americans. Lesotho, Congo-Kinshasa, Kenya, Liberia and Malawi are outstanding in this regard. Those nations in the United Nations who have no criticisms of U.S. imperialism play the same role here in the United States that they play in Africa.

Also confusing are some of the distortions of the concept of Pan-Africanism as developed by Dr. DuBois. These distortions have made a definite impact in the Black liberation movement here. The ideas of "going it alone", of not accepting aid from the socialist countries, of building up an African bourgeoisie rather than taking a non-capitalist road to development as the alternative to colonialism—all of these

find their reflection in the United States in the concept of "Black Capitalism." Of course Black Capitalism can no more be successful in the U.S. than can a neo-colonial economy in Africa, and for precisely the same reasons: Imperialism will in fact continue its control. Yet, this attitude in parts of Africa, it must be admitted, has had some impact in the United States.

Prominent among those influenced by these currents are poet LeRoi Jones and Ron Karenga, who feel cultural indentity only to Africa, and reject a relationship to the cultural heritage of U.S. slavery. By by-passing the history of black oppression in the U.S. and going back only to their African roots, they seek to make Black people and their culture completely alien to the United States. Thus they ignore the impact Blacks have made and today make on U.S. society and culture; and vice-versa. And, by rejecting the history of black people in the U.S., they serve to isolate themselves from the current struggles of Black Americans.

CLASS ANALYSIS

Basic to this ideology is a rejection of class analysis. Many African national movements on achieving political independence felt that struggle could end at that point. It was enough to have Africans themselves politically determining their own destiny; the economic picture needn't be changed. "Cultural nationalism", as the ideology of Jones and Karenga has come to be called, which rejects the history of the social and cultural life of Black America, thus looks to a bastardized "African Socialism" as the answer. They argue that the struggle for any economic demands on capital is limited for the majority of U.S. Blacks. Instead a separate Black economy parallel to capitalism must be built. This is no less than an acceptance of neo-colonialism in Africa as a model of tokenism and the maintenance of oppression for the majority of Blacks in our country, with the creation of a comprador bourgeoisie as the mechanism for imperialism in both places.

Another manifestation of this counter-revolutionary ideology, generally associated with the Right, is its "Left" counter-part. This seeks to mechanically transpose the African conditions to the U.S. struggle. South Africa is thought to be very much the same as the United States. It is granted, most will say, that South Africa is worse. The struggle in South Africa is against the absolute repression and oppression of Black South Africans; the United States represents the same repressive oppressive force for U.S. Blacks. But the conclusion is then drawn that since Communists and progressives of South Africa have decided the only way to gain the right to determine their own existence is by armed struggle, therefore this is also true now for the United States.

One influence Stokely Carmichael had on sections of the Black liberation movement is in relating the armed struggle of Africa to the "need" of armed struggle by Black people in the U.S., even without allies, as the road to freedom. Talk of "guerrilla warfare" and even "race war" has risen in some quarters, and some Black Americans, now in exile, say they are preparing for this course. This is in contrast to the thoughts of Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, the founders and top leaders of the Black Panther Party who speak in terms of armed self-defence, an inalienable right and often a necessity. These two modern heroes of unequalled courage in the United States also urge the broadening of the struggle, the simultaneous necessity of gaining allies and deepening consciousness. What the critics of Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale have done is to take a situation (South Africa) where an overwhelming majority of the population is oppressed and to treat it as identical with the minority oppression of the United States. This is not to say that the majority of Americans are not exploited; of course they are, that is the nature of capitalism. Nor is it to deny that the struggle for power in the United States might necessitate the use of force to counter the violence of imperialism protecting its treasure. The only point being made is that some who today

call for guerrilla warfare and "going it alone" in the United States have not really learned the lessons being taught by the African revolutionaries.

BANTUSTAN IN THE U.S.

One other current, which embodies aspects of both "Black capitalism" and "cultural nationalism", and rejects allies, is the separatist movement. Feeling that Black people cannot be an integral part of the United States, this movement believes that the only way to achieve freedom is to have certain lands and territories granted to them. Some have requested the government in Washington to give up several states for a separate Black existence. What they have failed to do is make any demands on capitalism for the alleviation of the problems Black people face in their daily lives. Nor are demands on capital made even for the separatist programme; that is, the states would separate on colour lines but the US would continue to exercise federal control. Again, there is a rejection of struggle within the actual present framework.

No one should make the mistake of thinking that these various ideological trends among American Blacks are purely the result of reactionary influences from Africa. The point is only that reactionary views in Black America look for justification to certain developments in Africa. In fact, the real source of these trends in the United States is a history of 400 years of slavery, genocide, the most severe forms of oppression, poverty and ostracism, and superexploitation at the hands of the most developed capitalist system in history. And that system has at its command a formidable arsenal of ideological and propaganda weapons to sow confusion as to who is friend and foe, to divide Black people and their class allies, to distort reality. A plethora of organizations like the American Committee on Africa, and government agencies like USIA, continue to operate successfully, especially among white Americans. Little information filters through about the

struggles in Africa. (This is hardly unintentional: the case has been made that African nations in fact get more information from London about events in other African nations than they do from those nations.) For example, the struggles of the Portuguese colonies are all but unknown in the United States, even among anti-imperialists. Even the fact that there is an African National Congress or a PAIGC is not well known in the U.S. Most U.S. anti-imperialists, including Communists, do not recognize the names of most African countries, let alone the movements operating in those countries.

U.S. imperialism's success in its colonial role is partially because it has never had direct political control of African colonies. Its support of the increasing role of Zionism in Africa has also served to deflect potential challenges especially among white Americans. The predominantly white movements have never found it opportune to challenge U.S. imperialism in Africa. A half-dozen years ago the Students for a Democractic Society (SDS), supported by the Communist-led W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, conducted a short-lived campaign on college campuses against Chase Manhattan Bank and other large U.S. investors in South Africa. And there was support for the U.S. Black athletes who boycotted the Olympic Games trials in 1968 in protest against possible South African participation in the games. But efforts of white Americans in solidarity with Africa have been sporadic. This should surprise no one, for if white Americans have been slow or absent in supporting Black Americans, it is hardly news that they have failed to move in support of Africans.

REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE

If the neo-colonial concepts of "African socialism" and "Pan-Africanism" have had a reactionary influence among Black Americans, it is by no means dominant. A revolutionary surge is also emerging, in part due to the pride in the

relationship to Africa and a drawing from that relationship of encouragement to struggle, with the possibility of victory. The African struggle for independence and the need for socialist and non-capitalist roads to development has brought about in the U.S. a much wider interest in socialism and an acute understanding of the need for alternatives to capitalism. And, without its being taught, there is a new-found knowledge that the aid to the armed struggle and the building of economies free of imperialist penetration comes from the socialist camp in the first place.

Kwame Nkrumah's writings on neo-colonialism; the declarations of him, Sekou Toure and others not to stop at political independence but to follow a non-capitalist course of development; attempts to pull the tribes together, and to institute plans of benefit to the majority; the movements now engaged in armed struggle against colonialism and fascism; the failures of the countries who have chosen the neo-colonial path—all have provided lessons for the radical Black movement in the United States, which has now accepted the need for class struggle, rather than struggle based only on colour lines. In this context, James Foreman, Malcolm and now Huey P. Newton have been great individual influences at different times.

Nevertheless the nationalist approach cannot be ignored. The history of Black people in the U.S., their present composition and relationship to a white majority, is unique in the world. Contrary to those who see only a cultural relationship to Africa, there is a special Afro-American culture. It is a culture of oppression born out of slavery, forcibly divorced from its ancestral roots. Black Americans built a cultural life around their struggle against their enslavement and their oppression. With the abolition of chattel slavery, the struggle continued, now against super-exploitation. And, while 95 percent of Black America are a component of the working class, the racism and oppression directed against Black people is an all-class oppression. At the time of free compe-

tition, Black people were enslaved. The existence of monopoly has since made it impossible for Blacks to vertically integrate into the U.S. capitalist economy. Even the would-be Black bourgeoisie, in fact a petty-bourgeoisie, can never become part of the U.S. ruling class. That is to say, there is an oppression of a people as a whole people, a national oppression. In addition is the violent racism visited upon that people.

The fact of the struggle in Africa gives an awareness to people of African heritage in the United States as to their culture but also as to their possibilities of successful struggle. The concept of Black Power, when viewed correctly, actually stems from the idea that Black people have a natural identity which, used in concert, can make that people stronger. That is, acting in unison, Blacks can assert their power; questions of armed struggle, separatism, etc., are secondary questions.

Africa of course cannot be seen alone; it is part of a worldwide struggle against oppression and exploitation. Other outposts of that struggle—especially Cuba and Vietnam—have had their influence on Black America. (During the 1965 ghetto uprising in Watts, California, young Blacks fired on police helicopters in conscious emulation of their Vietnamese brothers.) What the struggle in Africa has imparted to Black Americans is the realization not only of the possibility of struggle, but also of the inability to live in the old way. It is this latter realization that has made political consciousness greater among U.S. Blacks than among whites.

The resentment of the oppression has now reached explosive proportions, as the world's headlines testify. The resentment displays itself most forcefully against the fascist-like police and army attacks on much of the Black community. It is at these points that the African inspiration is demonstrated most clearly. It is more than coincidence than the song that arose from the Black communities of Houston, Texas, and in rural Louisiana during police riots five years ago, was, "I

Want to Be a Mau Mau." Or that the graffiti painted on the walls of Newark and Detroit during the uprisings in those cities was, "Not Yet Uhuru." Or that the cry of the U.S. revolutionary—Black and white—today is the same as that of the African National Congress: *"Amandla Ngawethu!* Power to the People!"

from the Marxist classics . . .

"According to the materialist conception of history, the ultimately determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence, if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the only determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructures. .exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form. There is an interaction of all these elements."

—Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Selected Works, Vol 2, p. 488 (Engels's letter to Joseph Block, 1890)

BOOK REVIEWS

IMPERIALIST RAPE OF THE THIRD WORLD

The Pillage of the Third World and *The Third World in World Economy,* both by Pierre Jalèe, published by Monthly Review Press, 15s. and 58s. respectively.

The Leninist thesis on imperialism has rightly prevailed for over 50 years—even, ironically, in imperialist scholarship, since bourgeois scholars have recognised that the central challenge of Lenin's concepts is the one to which they must return, again and again, with futilely hostile interpretations and "refutations".

The rise of the Third World in the last 25 years, however, has provided the opportunity—and the urgent necessity—for a re-examination of the classical Marxist-Leninist typology of imperialism. The purpose of re-examination is neither to attempt yet another fatuous revision of revolutionary doctrine, nor merely to add new data—new statistical tables, new economic indices—to Lenin's classic work, but to assess realistically the ways in which imperialism has changed in the post-war era, and therefore the changes in strategy and tactics which are required of revolutionaries in the advanced capitalist countries and in the Third World.

An admirable contribution to this fundamental task has been made by Pierre Jalée, whose best known work, *The Pillage of the Third World,* has now appeared in English, having been published in French in 1965. His later and more detailed work, *The Third World in World Economy,* has now also appeared. Both are published by Monthly Review Press, and are priced 15/- and 58/- respectively.

Both books are packed with closely-documented figures on the economics of imperialist domination of the Third World. It is

impossible to give any real idea in this space of the rich diversity of material which Jalée has expertly marshalled to give such impressive weight to his thesis, but some of the central contentions can be briefly stated.

In our times, the exploitation of imperialism has become more efficient. The international division of labour which Lenin long ago defined has become even sharper, with the Third World producing more and more primary commodities and the industrialized capitalist countries producing more and more manufactured goods. The terms of trade are moving decisively against the under-developed countries, so that, in short, they pay more for manufactures and receive less for their primary product exports. In these respects, little has changed—merely that imperialism has intensified its robbery with violence of the poor countries, notwithstanding the great wave of political liberation. But the importance of the death of old-style colonialism should not be underestimated: it has contributed in no small measure to the new forms of imperialist activity which Jalée analyses, leading to decisive shifts away from the underdeveloped countries of imperialist investments, and to the "loss of confidence" in such investments which imperialist spokesmen constantly bemoan. And far more importantly, of course, it has signalled the beginning of the really crucial battle of national and human liberation which is yet to come, and whose end will be the final defeat of imperialism in the Third World and, ultimately, within its own territory.

The critical factor of decolonization, to which must be added economic change induced by the rapid growth of high-level technology in the advanced countries, has meant that one feature of Lenin's theory, although true half a century ago, no longer applies: the Third World no longer acts primarily as a home for surplus capital exported from capitalist countries. Increasingly, the flow of private investment from imperialist countries is to other imperialist countries, rather than to the poor countries which they dominate. The classic economic advantages of high rates of profit from exploited labour and low land and commodity prices in under-developed countries do not necessarily apply in our times: the dynamics of high-technology production and easy access of large markets make for far more frequent and growing movements of capital between advanced countries, with investment in the Third World stagnating or growing only very slowly. Investment in the Third World remains decisive for imperialism, however, in one crucial sphere: that of raw materials, and especia-

lly petroleum and minerals, since the Third World is the source of the vast bulk of such products to be found outside the socialist block. The primary aims of modern imperialism, therefore, are firstly to maintain the supply of vital raw materials (whose extraction they often control, or the prices of which they can control to some extent by the manipulation of commodity organizations and markets), and secondly to maximize production in the advanced imperialist countries to maintain and extend imperialism's grip on world trade. The aim is thus trade domination, rather than control of exported capital in the poor countries. Thus, in fact, the Third World, far from absorbing capital surpluses, is now in the position of contributing to the accumulation of capital in the imperialist world: repatriation of profits and the Third World's repayment of public debts (i.e. the much-vaunted imperialist "aid", which has to be serviced and eventually repaid) in 1965 already exceeded the total of all public grants and loans to the Third World. If one adds to this equation the trend downwards in new investment, the large subventions by local elites to advanced countries, illegally repatriated profits, bigger debt-servicing obligations on the increasing burden of "aid" loans, worsening terms of trade, etc. etc., it is easy to see how capitalist accumulation in the imperialist countries begins, in our era, to be materially augmented by the Third World.

There is another idea implicit in this analysis, however, which is potentially even more important, and which Jalée develops as far as possible in the light of present evidence. That is that our ideas of imperialism, in the sense of imperialist *nation-states,* may well be due for drastic revision. That same trend of closer economic relations between imperialist states—more frequent and larger movements of capital, intensified trade relationships—has also produced an internationalization of imperialist enterprises on an ever-increasing scale. This is the age of the multi-national corporation, which can not really be identified with a single imperialist *power* (except for the obvious fact that United States capital will tend in most cases to predominate), which spawns and swallows up subsidiaries and concessionary enterprises literally by the score, and which handles annual trading and investment budgets running into millions of dollars in each of a score or more of countries. Parallel with this internationalization of enterprises has gone the internationalization of imperialist financial institutions (the World Bank, International Development Association, International Finance Corporation are examples) and a new willingness

on the part of the imperialists to make the "giving" of aid a multi-lateral affair.

This is Jalée's contribution to Marxist economic theory: to collect and organise valuable and relatively inaccessible data, and to present a challenging interpretation of the economic character of imperialism which has important implications not only for economic theory, but for the practice of revolutionary political life as well. His books are a fine addition to Marxist literature, and in the mainstream of creative Marxist thought. As Jalée himself says, in *The Pillage of the Third World:*

"Far from claiming to revise or relegate Lenin to the past, I prefer to stand on his ground as far as I am able, and to follow his line of thought. It is in this spirit that I have laid bare certain new features of imperialism in the 1960's and....think it worth while to consider the consequences which might flow from them both for the nations of the Third World and for the anti-capitalist groupings inside the capitalist countries."

A. Langa

THE FAILED REVOLUTIONARY

"REBEL PITY" The Life of Eddie Roux—by Eddie and Win Roux
Rex Collings, London 1970, 45/-

Edward Roux was born near Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal in 1903. He was the son of Philip Roux, a pharmacist of Huguenot descent, an early white South African socialist who renounced his Boer background and became an admirer of British imperialism. Later, Philip Roux became a pacifist, and in middle-age dropped out of politics, while condemning his son's active interest in the Young Communist League and its efforts to organise young African workers. The young Roux left home and threw himself into revolutionary politics. It was a promising start.

Edward Roux won a scholarship to Cambridge where he spent three years furthering his training as a botanist. While there he accompanied Sydney and Rebecca Bunting to Moscow as dele-

gates of the Communist Party of South Africa to the 6th Congress of the Communist International in 1928. There he and his co-delegates failed to convince the Congress of the correctness of their analysis of South African politics. Despite the evidence of the 1922 strike, they regarded the white worker as an important and necessary ally of the black worker in the struggle for socialism, and opposed the adoption of the 'Black Republic' slogan for the CPSA, although some elements in the Party supported it. Roux' disillusionment with the international communist movement began then. His feelings about the Soviet Union turned sour.

Within a year of his return to South Africa, he had become editor of the CPSA's weekly paper *Umsebenzi*—the first Communist paper in Africa which took up the grievances of the African people and won wide interest and support amongst Africans. With his gift for simplicity of expression, and attention to the variety of indigenous languages, the paper flourished. Yet he ignored the line of his party and preferred a pragmatic, day-to-day approach. In the intense and demanding struggle forced upon the Communist Party by the extreme injustice and exploitation of colonialism in its South African form, such empiricism could not and did not provide an adequate perspective for a revolutionary movement.

Thus Roux, though hard-working, idealistic and courageous, failed to live up to the challenge of the times, difficult and perplexing as they were. He was party to the expulsion from the CPSA of Sydney Bunting and others, for ideological deviations in relation to the 'Black Republic' line, but he felt guilty about his role in the matter. In the late thirties he dropped out of active political struggle, and returned to his work as a scientist.

In 1943 he wrote a biography of Sydney Bunting and a few years later his well-known history of African resistance to white supremacy in South Africa "Time Longer Than Rope". Ironically, he was listed a Communist in 1952, and a few years later he joined the Liberal Party and unsuccessfully contested a municipal election in Johannesburg. In September 1962 he was appointed Professor of Botany at the University of Witwatersrand. Two years later he was banned, and in February 1966 he died, mourned by many including those who regretted his political inadequacies but loved and admired his gentle humanity.

Now a life of Eddie Roux has been published, part auto-biography, part biography by his widow Winnie. As a political history it adds nothing to what Roux himself had previously written, and in parts repeats it exactly, reproducing the same prejudices that

distorted his earlier work and made it grist to the mill of reactionary anti-Communists. Roux the rationalist, linguist, and scientist emerges clearly from the story, but in the final analysis what is left is Roux the brave but failed revolutionary.

J. Villiers

"AFRICAN COMMUNISTS SPEAK"

Under the above title, a volume of articles and documents from the first 39 issues of the "African Communist" has been published by the "Nauka" Publishing House in Moscow.

In a short preface, the publishers state:

"The present book comprises articles and documents from the "African Communist" put out by the South African Communist Party. Within the decade of its existence (1959-1969) the journal has published a good number of interesting materials developing a serious analytical approach to modern African problems.

"Space being limited, it proved impossible to have included all of the articles we consider to be interesting and still valid in importance, within the framework of this volume. That is why this collection embraces only such materials as deal with issues having immediate references to the present day and thus, naturally, what has come out lately was given priority.

"It is the hope of the Publishing House that this volume will help the reader to get a better understanding of the complex development problems of Africa nowadays.

"All the preparatory work on the collection as well as the selection of materials has been done by the research associates of the Institute of Africa (U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences), specialising in problems of Southern Africa".

In producing this volume, the publishing house has rendered an invaluable service to the world progressive movement and to Africanists of all kinds who may not have access to the individual issues of the "African Communist".

The selections start with the preface to the first issue of "this magazine", duplicated secretly in Johannesburg and distributed clandestinely throughout South Africa in October 1959. As M. Harmel explains in his introduction, the enthusiasm with which the journal was received both in South Africa and abroad encouraged the Party to plan a substantial increase in the size of the

journal, its frequency of publication and the number of copies distributed. Arrangements were made to have it printed abroad in order to avoid the difficulties of producing large numbers of copies under the increasingly terroristic conditions developing in South Africa. An international distribution centre was established in London.

The first issue in 1959 was followed by two issues in 1960, since when the journal has appeared regularly each quarter. Thus the end of the decade of its publication was marked by the appearance of its 39th issue.

The selection is divided into two sections: 1. General African Problems; and 2. Problems of South Africa.

The first section contains an article by Communist Party chairman J.B. Marks on the significance of the Russian Revolution for Africa and National Liberation, an article by W.E.B. du Bois on "The Birth of African Unity", and articles on "Socialism and Rural Revolution", "The Arusha Declaration—Tanzania's New Revolution", French aid and policy in Africa, South African Imperialist Expansion in Africa, and the neo-colonialist conquest of Katanga.

The second section contains the whole of the programme of the SACP adopted at the party's fifth national conference held in South Africa in 1962; a short history of the SACP by A. Lerumo entitled "After 40 Years", written in 1961 on the Party's anniversary; various statements by the Party's Central Committee outlining the revolutionary way forward in South Africa and the Party's support for the international Communist movement; articles on job reservation and apartheid in the trade union movement; the Transkei; the life and death of Chief A.J. Lutuli; the Morogoro resolutions of the A.N.C. adopted in 1969; an interview with Communist Party general secretary Moses Kotane; and articles dealing with the record and trial speeches of Bram Fischer and Govan Mbeki, leading Communists now serving sentences of life imprisonment because of their opposition to the fascist apartheid state.

Perhaps not the least useful section of the volume is its index to the first 39 issues which appeared between 1959 and 1969, published in the form of an itemised list of contents. All in all, it can be seen that the volume is not only a valuable record of the work of the journal, but also of the liberation struggle in South Africa itself. "Nauka" Publishing House must be congratulated on its initiative.

Z.K.

SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE U.S.S.R.

To acquaint readers in all parts of the world with the work of Soviet scholars in the social sciences, the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences is issuing a new publication called "The Social Sciences" which will carry translations of articles from Soviet scientific journals and also original material by Soviet philosophers, economists, sociologists, historians, lawyers, philologists and representatives of other social and humanitarian sciences.

"Social Sciences"—the first number of which has just been issued (Vol. 1, 1970)—is published in English, French and Spanish by the editorial board of "The Social Sciences Today" of the USSR Academy of Sciences in collaboration with the Novosti Press Agency. It will be sold through firms connected with V/O "Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga", USSR, Moscow G-200.

As is appropriate in the Lenin centenary year, the first issue is devoted to the work and influence of V.I. Lenin, and contains orginal articles by leading Soviet scholars on various aspects of Lenin's work, as well as reviews of books by Soviet scholars published in connection with the Lenin centenary, and reports on various conferences and symposiums devoted to the same theme.

The journal also contains a list of reviews of foreign publications which appeared in Soviet scientific journals in the period January to July 1969, as well as details of Soviet journals on the Social Sciences to which foreign readers can subscribe.

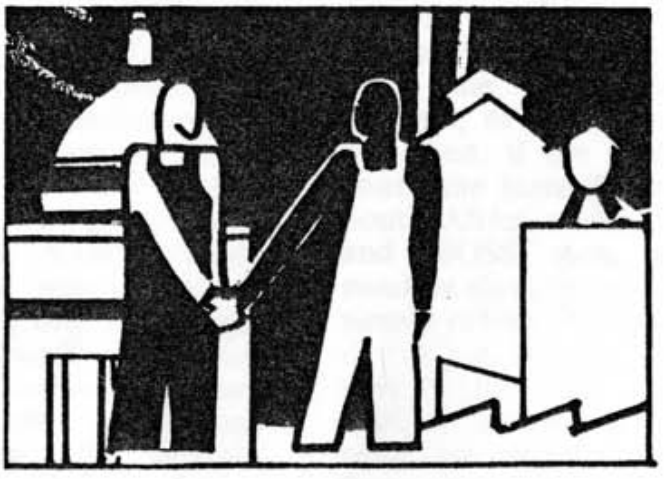
In a note to the reader, the editorial board states that the aim of the journal is to overcome the language barrier which has hitherto prevented the scientific world from keeping abreast of "Soviet research in the most intricate and burning problems mankind's development, history, economy and culture, relations within society and between and differing social systems...

"The new publication will reprint the best articles from Soviet academic periodicals and chapters from monographs, carry original papers and widely cover the activities of institutes in the humanities. Considerable space will be given to reviews of new works by Soviet and foreign scholars, scientific reviews and abstracts, materials of discussions, and information on social science literature issued in the Soviet Union.

"All this, we hope, will enable readers regularly to follow the development of Soviet scientific thinking in philosophy, history, economics, law, sociology, international relations, literary studies, and so on, to learn about fundamental studies of new phenomena in the life of contemporary society and socio-economic and political processes under way in all countries".

There will be a further issue of "Social Sciences" in 1970, devoted this time to the achievements of Soviet historical science. Thereafter the journal will appear quarterly.

"Launching the new publication", states the editorial board, "The USSR Academy of Sciences is guided by the desire to promote greater understanding and co-operation among scientists of various countries in striving for the lofty ideals of peace and the social progress of mankind".



"I ACCUSE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT OF MURDER"

Statement by Miss Mary Benson, Writer, before the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid, June 8, 1970

In 1963 the phrase "torture by mind-breaking" was coined by Mr. Hamilton Russell, former Member of Parliament and a leader of the Progressive Party in South Africa. He was describing the new law introduced by the then Minister of Justice, John Balthazar Vorster: detention without charge or trial for 90 days, renewable. In 1965 the period was doubled to 180 days, renewable. And in 1967 under the Terrorism Act—the Act of Terror as it has been called—*indefinite* detention without charge or trial was enacted.

"Torture by mind-breaking" and other less subtle forms of torture have become a custom in South Africa, and over the years more and more people have suffered; some have suffered even unto death. In 1963 one man died while detained in solitary confinement. In 1964, two. In 1966, two. All those five were allegedly suicides. In 1967 two died—one an alleged suicide, the other "an unknown man who died on an unknown date of cause unknown". In 1968 one died, allegedly suicide. And last year, in 1969, seven men died.

As Dr. Barend van Niekerk, a senior lecturer in law at the University of the Witwatersrand, told the Council of Churches in Johannesburg on May 26:

> "In the short life of the Terrorism Act there have been more than a dozen known deaths of detainees which, in view of the small numbers involved, must surely represent the highest death rate for a single group of prisoners in the Western world."

He spoke of the Terrorism Act as an "institutionalization of cruelty". Others have described it as a licence to torture.

Of the fifteen known deaths since 1963 we have little detail—you have on record as much as has been published. For instance, that James Lenkoe, on whose toe there was evidence of an electric thermal burn, was found by the magistrate to have committed suicide by hanging by a belt. A belt which, so his

widow said at the inquest, was not his; he had left his only belt at home when he was arrested. Nicodimus Kgoathe, according to Security Police, died of a fall while taking a shower, and Solomon Modipane slipped on a piece of soap, with the magistrate finding that his death was due to "natural causes".

The one thing we do know for certain is that all these men died while their lives were under the absolute control of the Security Police. And the Minister of Justice, Petrus Pelser, according to *Reuters* on May 28, said: "I can assure the public that I am at all times kept informed of all the circumstances concerning a person's detention under the Terrorism Act".

When I testified before the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts of the Commission on Human Rights in February, I accused the South African Government, through its hired interrogators, of murdering the men who died in detention. I particularly singled out Major Theunis Jacobus Swanepoel, who heads the team of interrogators and whose name recurs again and again in affidavits about the sadistic methods of the police. Not unexpectedly, the South African Ambassador here was quoted in the press as saying that my accusation was nonsensical, a big lie. Apparently the Ambassador does not understand the implications when men choose the terrible anguish and annihilation of violently ending their own lives, rather than endure continued torture—whether mental or physical—from their interrogators. Have they hanged themselves? Have their enraged, possibly frustrated, interrogators hanged them? Did one man jump from a window? Or was he pushed? We shall never know. Just as we do not know how many men and women the Security Police have chosen to imprison under the Terrorism Act.

We know there are some Namibians. Who? How many? How long have they been imprisoned and where? We presume there must be freedom fighters captured in Rhodesia. Who? How many? How long...? And we know that the State has had scores of witnesses "at its disposal"—sinister words—in the case of twenty-two men and women who have been held under the Act. Exactly how many are still held and who are they? Most vital question of all: How are they?

It does not matter whether the State suspects someone, or thinks it has a possible witness to prove those suspicions: Not only the potential accused but prospective witnesses for the State are victims of the Security Police.

What is meant by "the State"? Normally one thinks of the President, the Prime Minister and Cabinet, or the Attorney General and then, if the matter comes to court, the State Prosecutor. But in South Africa under the Terrorism and "BOSS" Acts, none of these need be directly involved, they are simply rubber stamps for the Security Police. It is the Security Police who decide who to arrest, who shall be accused and who a witness; for months they work on these individuals to build up a case, and then they escort their witnesses to court, sit watching them as they give evidence, and escort them back to jail.

During the seven years since "torture by mind-breaking" was enacted, one particular building

has become notorious because it is there that most of the interrogations take place: Compol, an abbreviation for Commissioner of Police, a cream-painted Colonial-style building in Pretoria, a stone's throw from Church Square where President Kruger's statue looks down on symbolic Boers, and a block from the Headquarters of the Security Police.

The Case of the Twenty-two and the Two Witnesses who said "No"

It is fifty-six weeks since that day in May 1969 when seventeen men and five women and an unknown number of prospective witnesses were imprisoned by the Security Police in a case which has become of international concern. It took a year for any substantial protests to be made inside South Africa but at last the Black Sash women's protests of the past few months and international censure have been greatly augumented throughout South Africa, with students, church leaders, and professors of law—including Afrikaner Nationalists—joining in condemnation of the Terrorism Act and the continuing detention without charge of the twenty-two.

Among several mothers in the case are Mrs. Winnie Mandela—wife of Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader who is serving a life sentence on Robben Island—and Joyce Sikakane, a young journalist. In age the twenty-two range from a 19-year-old schoolboy to a 73-year-old pensioner, Mr. Mvemve. And of very great significance are the two women who, when called as witnesses by the State, despite the standing torture and threats, and despite certain prison sentences if they defied the State, yet refused to give evidence against their friends. They are Shanti Naidoo, whose late father was Gandhi's adopted son, and Mrs. Nkala (or Mamkhala).

The twenty-two and these two women have now been imprisoned for 393 days: 393 days locked in a small cell, with only a mat and a slop bucket. Most of that time in solitary: No access to lawyers, family or friends.

In the course of that period, in December, when the twenty-two were brought to trial, though arrested under the Terrorism Act, they were charged under the Suppression of Communism Act for furthering the aims of the banned African National Congress. The evidence produced by the State was remarkable for its triviality—indeed some of it was ludicrous. Yet much of this evidence was extracted through threats and assaults. For instance, one State witness, Philip Golding, who was comparatively privileged because he was white and British, with the British Government putting pressure on the South Africans on his behalf, was nevertheless so terrified of his interrogators that when brought to court (where, incidentally, his evidence was innocuous), he would not talk about their assaults; the defence had to drag from him some mention; not until he was back in England did he dare describe what he'd been through. And he then also said he felt he had perjured himself in court.

As you know, in February the Attorney General announced that the State withdrew the charges against the twenty-two and the Judge found them all "not guilty". The Security Police promptly stepped in and rearrested them

under the Terrorism Act. Shanti Naidoo and Mrs Nkala were also—like the others—again at the mercy of their frustrated interrogators. As I said earlier, the Attorney General is one of the rubber stamps for the Security Police. In April he said the case was out of his hands, then on May 24 he said no further charges were yet preferred and, as far as he knew, no charges were being considered. (Report in Johannesburg *Sunday Times*). Yet four days later on May 28, Minister of Justice Pelser—clearly as a result of the outcry in South Africa—announced that police investigations were nearly completed and that the Attorney General would soon give a decision.

The *New York Times* commented on February 25, at the time of the arbitrary rearrests:

> "The prosecution's strategy seems clear: It will simply hold the defendants under the Terrorism Act until more 'evidence' can be obtained or concocted by the bestial methods that have become a hallmark of South African 'justice'."

Since February, what has been happening to the twenty-four? We have no idea. Their attorney, Joel Carlson, has tried to get information. The Security Police do not reply. A desperate attempt by fifteen relatives to get a court order restraining the police from assault and torture, failed. The Judge ruled that the matter was not urgent. This despite the fact that three men connected with the case had died in detention! Despite the affidavits from seventeen of the twenty-two concerning police cruelty.

TORTURE OF DETAINEES

Major Swanepoel and his team have become experts at the statue torture—forcing the victim to stand in one place, to stay awake, for days on end—an almost infallible technique for breaking people in such a way that no mark is left on them. But in the Compol building the team has added a refinement: the victim is now forced to balance on bricks. In his affidavit, David Motau, a 47-year-old truck driver, described this and how, after being then beaten and punched, he was hung by the neck with his toes just touching the bricks.

Mrs. Rita Ndzanga, whose husband is also one of the twenty-two—they have four children—describes the third occasion on which she was interrogated. A white Security man hit her and she fell and began to scream,

> "They closed the windows. I continued screaming. They dragged me to another room, hitting me with their open hands all the time...They ordered me to take off my shoes and stand on three bricks. I refused...One of (them) climbed on a chair and pulled me by my hair, dropped me on the bricks. I fell down and hit a gas pipe. The same man pulled me up by my hair again, jerked me, and I again fell on the metal gas pipe. They threw water on my face. The man who pulled me by my hair had his hands full of my hair.

He washed his hands in the basin. I managed to stand up and then they said: 'On the bricks!' I stood on the bricks and they hit me again....I fell. They again poured water on me. I was very tired. I could not stand the assault any longer. I asked to see Major Swanepoel."

Mr. Mvemve, the 73-year-old man, was unable to balance on the bricks so they handcuffed him and tied a rope through the handcuffs and to a grating above his head, his feet touching the bricks. After three days and nights he told them he accepted every word they said. A statement was slowly compiled. "But I didn't sign it," the old man said afterwards.

The youngest, Joseph Sikalala, was made to catch and kill cockroaches with his hands; then the "grey, wobbling bricks", kicks, blows, a sjambok beating knees, feet, genitals, threats: "Kaffer...jy sal doodgaan" (Kaffir you will die), sleeplessness, fatigue, the blurring, hopelessness.

And for Mrs. Mandela, who was allowed to sit through her five days and nights of interrogation because of a heart condition and oedema, the time when Swanepoel sent for her, and asked abruptly who was Thembi Mandela. She replied, "My eldest stepson" and he then said, "He is dead." He had been killed in a car accident. She was too shocked for control, she broke down and wept.

DEATHS IN DETENTION

As I mentioned, three men concerned in this case of the twenty-two died in detention. Of one, Michael Shivute, we know only that he is alleged to have committed suicide on the first night.

Caleb Mayekiso A.N.C. leader and trade union organizer since the 1940's, whose most recent term of imprisonment for political activity had been served on Robben Island, was quite fit, his wife said, when the Security Police took him away on May 14 last year. In two weeks' time he was dead. That is all we know.

And then, the Imam Abdullah Haron: We know far more about his death because in Cape Town a number of prominent white people made a fuss about it. If only the fuss could have been made ten months earlier, when he was detained without charge!

Twenty thousand people attended his funeral—he was a greatly loved and respected leader of the Muslim community, and utterly opposed to *apartheid*.

On May 28 last year, he was detained. Aged 43, he was, so his widow says, in excellent health. Four months later, on September 27, he was pronounced dead. An inquest was not held until five months later. Police evidence was that in July the Imam complained of pain over his ribs, he was twice seen by doctors and was given pain-killing tablets. There was no indication of heart trouble.

Between July 2 and 11, he had been interrogated by Sgt. van Wyk and as a result reluctantly made a statement. (Van Wyk is the man who assaulted two white detainees in 1964—Stephanie Kemp and Alan Brooks, both now in London—cases in which the Government made out-of-court settlements with his victims.) Police testified further that on the night of September 19 the Imam fell down some stairs and suffered

injuries. (Though these injuries included a broken rib, no doctor was called.) The police treated him with pain-killing tablets. During the next eight days he did not walk around. He usually sat or stood in the sun, and sometimes he did not leave his cell. On September 27 he died.

The post-mortem next day disclosed twenty-six bruises on the body, haemotoma, blood clots in the chest wall, a narrowing of the artery and clots in the deep veins of the calves. The seventh right rib was broken. One bruise was twenty by eight centimetres. Some bruises were possibly seven to ten days old, but others were fresher. Two parallel bruises were similar to injuries seen on those hit by an instrument such as a stick. At the inquest five months later, the Magistrate accepted police evidence, said a substantial part of the trauma, contributing to death by myocardial ischemia, was caused by an accidental fall down a flight of stone stairs. He was unable to determine how the balance of the trauma was caused.

The evidence and the finding aroused wide disquiet in South Africa and provoked demands for a judicial inquiry. No such inquiry has been held. In April the Imam's widow sued the Ministers of Police and Justice, but there has been no subsequent report as far as I can ascertain.

Meanwhile relatives of all those detained wait and wonder. Mrs. Naidoo has said she is haunted by these deaths. Shanti is frail and delicate. She herself is old and ill and fears she will never see her daughter again. (Her one son, tortured in 1964, shot at the time of his arrest, is serving a twelve-year sentence for sabotage.) Her appeal to the authorities that Shanti be charged or released met with silence (She was later released. —Ed.)

A BRUTALIZED SOCIETY

There is something peculiarly obscene about Major Swanepoel and his team. It is not as if they are dealing with great leaders, with militants or freedom fighters. The case of the twenty-two centres on a small group who through leaflets, through trying to gather clothes and cash for families of political prisoners, were desperately struggling to keep a spark of protest and of humanity alive. But with "BOSS", with the Terrorism Act, the Security Police have to justify their existence.

And their unknown number of victims are but one aspect of the "brutalized society which connives with a brutal regime in applying brutal measures" against the non-white people of South Africa. Those are not my words. I am quoting a *Rand Daily Mail* report of the words of Mrs. Jean Sinclair, President of the Black Sash women in South Africa. She was describing the destruction of lives, of families and of homes that are all facts of life there. Her words also remind us that along with the many who suffer, there do remain the tiny handful who never cease to protest, right inside South Africa.

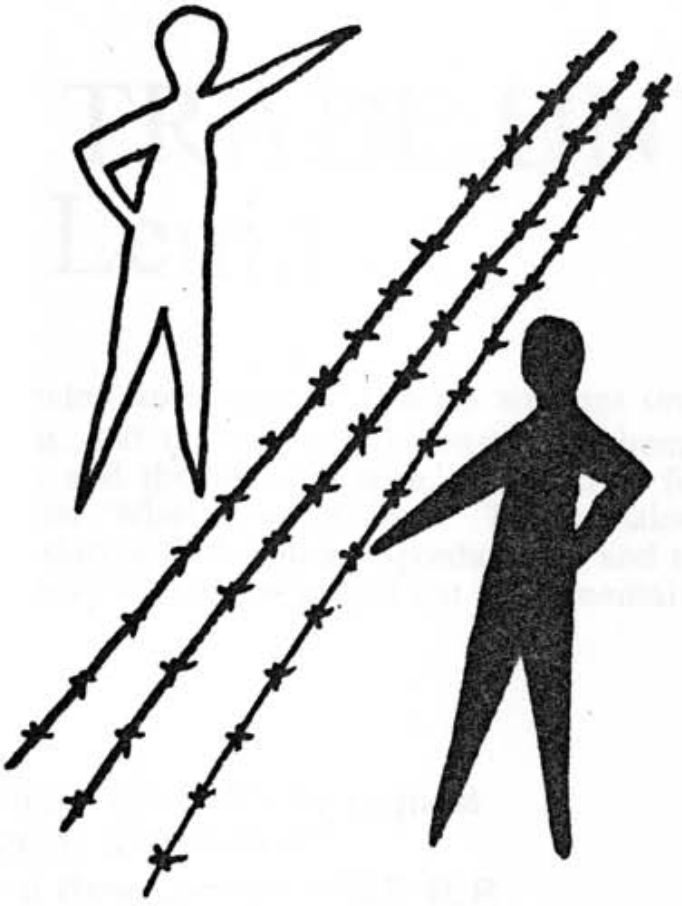
KEEP UP THE PRESSURE

Among them: Joel Carlson, attorney for the twenty-two and so many others. In a speech to students in Johannesburg in April, he said that inaction and silence are tantamount to condoning and approval. To know that the evil exists and to do nothing, is soul-

destroying. "Change will not come about by people wishing for it, but if we persist, with courage, we shall overcome", he told the students.

One hopes that the students and all the others now protesting in South Africa will not be intimidated, nor deceived by false assurances. That when the twenty-two are released or charged, they will continue and make ever more penetrating their demands on behalf of the others, helpless, silenced, in solitary confinement; and here it is vital that you and your Committee, keep up the pressure, that as long as there is a single political prisoner in South Africa, a single person suffering under *apartheid,* you will make known the abhorrence of the outside world.

(On the 400th day of their detention, the Minister of Justice announced that three of the detainees had been freed, although it appeared that they might still be called as State witnesses. The remaining 19 detainees appeared in court in August for summary trial on charges under the Terrorism Act. Joined with them was a 20th detainee, Mr. Benjamin Ramotse, who claimed he had been kidnapped in Botswana and detained since July 1968.—Ed.)



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